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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 27th day of July, 1942.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1942, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditors' Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£32,678	0	9
To which has to be added :—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	27,551	0	8
	£60,229	1	5
The Directors recommend that the balance available be applied as follows, viz. :—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Eleven** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	£27,500	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account ...	5,000	0	0
To next Account	27,729	1	5
	£60,229	1	5

The Reserve Fund remains at £740,000.

By Order of the Board,

GEORGE ROCHE,
General Manager

DUBLIN 13th July, 1942.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN IRELAND.

Dr. **BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1942.** Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.
To Capital, viz.:—500,000 Shares of £4 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £1 per Share	500,000	0	0
,, Reserve Fund	740,000	0	0
,, Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ...£550,000 0 0 *Less*: Held by the Bank ... 23,289 0 0	526,711	0	0
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	12,251,737	4	5
,, Profit and Loss Account ...	60,229	1	5
	£14,078,677	5	10

ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	1,723,257	11	1
,, Investments, Irish and British Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding, as per Contra)	6,764,297	4	3
Other Securities	168,136	0	2
	£8,655,690	15	6
,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	5,279,753	0	6
,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 56 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	143,233	9	10
	£14,078,677	5	10

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 30th JUNE, 1942.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Dividend to be paid in August, 1942, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... 27,500 0 0				By Balance from last Account ...	27,551	0	8
,, Bank Premises Account ... 5,000 0 0				,, Net Profit for Half-year after payment of Expenses of Management including Directors' Fees (£2,000) and providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts, Revenue Taxes, Contingencies, and all other outlay	32,678	0	9
,, Balance to next Acct. 27,729 1 5							
	60,229	1	5				
	£60,229	1	5		£60,229	1	5

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required in the course of our examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

We have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 30th June, 1942, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. We have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in our opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

KEAN & COMPANY, Chartered Accountants,
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DUBLIN, 13th July, 1942.

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THE NURSING PROFESSION AND ITS NEEDS

By Professor Henry Moore, M.D., D.Sc., F.R.C.P.I., F.R.C.P. (Lond.)

WITHIN recent years many institutions doing work of national importance have benefited by improved conditions of working; these advances have usually been initiated by some form of public explanation and appeal. One important body seems to have been largely forgotten in these respects, namely, the nursing profession. Perhaps it is because the nurse has such an intimate and unselfish relationship with the patient that her ministrations and difficulties are just taken for granted by the public and are therefore forgotten soon after the need for her services has ended.

The following series of papers aims at placing before the people information on the handicaps under which the nursing profession labours and on the hopes and endeavours of its leaders for their solution.

The vocation of nursing probably demands from its members a degree of patience and self-suppression greater than that required in any other lay profession. Four to five years of training are necessary to acquire the skill and self-reliance requisite for efficiency. Not alone must the nurse adjust herself psychologically to her various patients but also to her various doctors, and frequently this double *rôle* is by no means easy. The personality and skill of the nurse are often important factors in success or failure in the conduct of a difficult case, and on the result not uncommonly depends the difference between life and death. The spiritual influence of the nurse on her patient is sometimes a matter of great importance; and when the discipline of nursing is added to that of community religious life, one sees par excellence the working of the commandment "Love thy neighbour." The nurse's working-hours are long, and her concentration while on duty is intense. Her remuneration is a standing reproach, and there is little provision for her old age. Her chances of recreation compare poorly with those of the average girl, and her living accommodation often, to put it mildly, leaves much to be desired. Moreover, her responsibility is great, and a mistake on her part in judgment or technique might have most serious consequences.

In the vast majority of cases nurses are individually and collectively uncomplaining; indeed, it is only within the last few years that the profession as a whole has become articulate through the Irish Nurses' Organization.

Nobody who understands the nurse's difficulties can deny that many reforms are overdue; the Government, the public and the medical

profession owe a great deal to the nursing profession, and all three should wholeheartedly seek to repay this debt by co-operative action to secure these rights as a matter of simple justice. It is now high time for taking the initiative for reform; perhaps the present symposium may serve as the stimulus to this objective.

It is not the function of this article to go into details as to ways and means, or as to the reforms needed; these matters will be dealt with by the subsequent writers. A few points of special importance, however, may be mentioned.

The Irish Nurses' Organization should itself start an active and constructive campaign aided by judicious publicity. For success in this undertaking it is of great importance that every nurse in Eire should join the organization and wholeheartedly support any plan agreed upon. It would also be highly advisable to enlist the active support of the medical profession, and I see no reason why the Medical Association of Eire should not be approached for this purpose—possibly a joint committee of action might be appointed. This suggestion is, however, a purely personal one, but it seems to me that it would be to the distinct advantage of both branches of a profession, so closely associated, to work together for what would be a mutually beneficial common purpose.

We sometimes see to-day in our own country, as well as in other lands, a dull bureaucracy acting as a dead-weight on reform and progress; it often operates by rule and regulation, initiated by people who have little experience of working conditions and who, all too frequently, fail to consult with those whose activities it seeks to control; on the rare occasion on which it gives anything away it is apt to demand a *quid pro quo* by taking to itself a measure of control over the undertaking to which it extends its favours. The nursing profession, in seeking state-grants, should be most careful that conditions are not attached to them which would mean state-control, because the latter would mean sacrifice of freedom and resulting stagnation and inefficiency in a profession in which the free personal relationship is absolutely essential for the efficient performance of its duties. The medical profession has had bitter experience in this respect, and might well say "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes." It is possible that state-control of the medical profession may be attempted in the not too distant future, and there will be little chance of freedom for the nurses if they, too, do not close their ranks now. It is obvious, therefore, that it is the duty of every nurse in Eire to join the Irish Nurses' Organization—the aim should be a numerical strength of one hundred per cent. The future will show that adverse results will ensue if something like this ideal is not achieved.

Considering the skill and responsibility necessary, the remuneration of nurses in general is inadequate. In some cases the salaries paid are scandalously low—for instance, £40 per annum for a dispensary midwife.

Many nurses in private practice are idle for months each year, during which time they have to pay their own board and lodging, as well as fees to the co-operative agency to which each is attached. When one considers that the average weekly fee during an active period is two guineas for ordinary nursing, £2 12s. 6d. for fever nursing, and three guineas for maternity work, with a co-operative annual fee of ten to twelve guineas to be paid out, it must be admitted that nurses can have little reserve, and often none at all, at the year's end.

One of the most urgent needs is an adequate general pension scheme. As far as I know, no general pension scheme is operative at present, though a minority of the voluntary hospitals work superannuation schemes. Many nurses in private practice may work for years without being able to save, or even pay a premium which would secure a pension later on in life. Owing to the strenuous nature of their work, nurses generally have to retire earlier in life than other workers—indeed, they are usually forced to do so when they reach middle age owing to the competition of younger members of the profession. I am authoritatively informed that there are many cases of retired nurses in grave financial difficulties, and cases are known to have ended in County Homes. Surely the establishment of a superannuation scheme is the clear and urgent duty of the country, especially when the national service—for it is nothing less—rendered by the nursing profession is borne in mind. Obviously, the prime mover should be the Government; but I am informed that the Irish Nurses' Organization has been for ten years appealing, without success, to the Government to act in this respect. It would seem that a contributory scheme, with the aid of a small state-grant, could be arranged with no great difficulty. Why then ten years delay?

Another urgent need is a Nurses' Club in Dublin, and possibly one in Cork or Galway. Certainly there should be one in Dublin. The uses to which such a place could be put are too obvious to need elaboration, and it would be a veritable boon to nurses.

It has been suggested that the Universities should institute higher courses for nurses and a Diploma in nursing. Such a project would have many advantages; for example, it would open up specialist fields, give scope for increased efficiency to ambitious students, and raise the general status of the profession of nursing.

As one who has been in daily contact with nurses for many years, it is my duty to state that the members of the nursing profession have my intense admiration, and I feel quite confident that every doctor and the vast majority of patients would cordially agree. Considering the respect in which we hold them, remembering the heavy responsibilities placed upon them, knowing the laborious training necessary to acquire even moderate skill, and bearing in mind their inadequate remuneration, it surely should be the serious desire of every fair-minded

person to see a great improvement in the conditions of service of our nurses, and to actively co-operate in any authoritative movement to that end. It was, indeed, a happy thought on the part of the Editor of STUDIES which led him to organize this symposium on the nurses' needs; may his efforts be crowned with success. HENRY MOORE

Comments on the foregoing Article

NO. I.—BY SIR JOSEPH A. GLYNN, LL.D.

Chairman of the National Health Insurance Commission, 1911-1933

I WISH to state that I am in entire sympathy with the proposal that a scheme of Pensions for Nurses should be set up. I base my view on the arguments used by Professor Henry Moore in favour of such a scheme. There is no doubt, whatever, that for ladies of such high professional qualifications they are seriously under-paid for their services; and I consider it is a duty which lies on the community that Nurses should be placed in such a position of security that the least of their troubles should be those of finance and their future.

When, however, we approach the question from the practical point of view, it is necessary, if we are to secure action, that the matter should be looked into more closely with a view to removing from our path the many questions which require answer.

It seems to be assumed that, because there is general agreement on the proposal to organise a Pension Scheme for Nurses, there is nothing to be done save to forthwith pass an Act of the Oireachtas. As a matter of fact, there is a considerable amount of ground to be cleared before we get as far as the introduction of a Bill. In order to explain my point more fully, I would like to put myself in the position of a Minister of State who is being approached by a deputation asking him to introduce a Bill for the pensioning of Nurses.

We must assume, of course, that a Minister will know as little of the details of such a subject as the man in the street. The questions I would ask are as follows:—

(1) What do you mean by Nurse? Is the term "Nurse" to cover all professional women engaged in the nursing services, including Maternity?
(2) How many women will be affected by the Scheme, and what is their present average age?
(3) At what age do you propose that the Pension should begin?
(4) What Pension do you propose to pay to the Nurse?
(5) What contribution do you think will be required to pay the Pension? (N.B.—An important question arises at this stage—namely, what

provision must be made to enable a flat rate to be charged for all women entering the Scheme, whatever their age be. This is got over in the National Health Insurance by reserve values.)

(6) Who are to be the contributory parties? Will it be as under National Health Insurance—the employee, the employer, and the Government; and in what proportions?

(7) How do you propose to enforce payment? As it would appear from your Memorandum that you are suspicious of too much departmental control, how do you propose to run the Scheme? Departmentally, as in the case of Widows' and Orphans' Pensions and Old Age Pensions; or by an outside body subject to Government audit, such as the National Health Insurance Society? If the latter, how do you propose to constitute it?

(8) On the question of finance, what actuarial advice have you taken so that figures, as to numbers, costs, etc., may be professionally ascertained?

There are many other questions which would occur to a person in the habit of dealing with such matters; but I have raised enough to show that a good deal of information has to be got before an Act of the Oireachtas can be passed. If you reply that this is a matter for the Government, I agree; but the manner in which the Government obtains that information is of importance to you. The Government may obtain it departmentally, in which case the very bureaucracy to which our friends so strongly object, will prepare the Scheme. If, however, the inquiry is made by an authority outside the Department, the matter assumes a different aspect.

My proposal, therefore, is (I am now speaking in my own capacity—not as a supposed Minister) that the Government should be asked to set up a Committee of Inquiry to hear evidence on the entire subject; that at this inquiry the Nurses, Doctors, the Institutions who have already Pension Schemes (or who have not) would be invited to give evidence. The best actuarial advice could be obtained at the public cost and a report presented to the Minister, which would have behind it, it is hoped, the authority of a Committee thoroughly representative of the various interests concerned, and which of necessity would have considerable weight with the Dail and the Senate. The report would contain the main provisions to be embodied in an Act of Oireachtas, so that the Government would have no difficulty in making up its mind on the subject. Such a Committee of Inquiry should be able to complete its work within six months of its appointment.

I suggest, therefore, that the Nursing Organisations, with the assistance of the representative bodies of the Medical Profession, should approach the Government with the request for the setting up of such a

Committee of Inquiry. In the end it will shorten the period of waiting; and its sittings, which should be public, will help to educate the country on the question. If the help of the individual members of the Dail and Senate can be obtained, it will strengthen the hands of the promoters by securing a body of opinion behind them which the Government will find it difficult to ignore.

The foregoing is written on the assumption that the Scheme will be compulsory, not voluntary, as in my opinion a voluntary scheme would be entirely unworkable. JOSEPH A. GLYNN

NO. 2.—BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY, M.A.

Vice-Chairman of Seanad Eireann

EVERYONE has had either personal or vicarious experience of the work done by the nursing profession, and everyone knows that it is among the most essential, the most laborious, and the least well-remunerated of our public or private services. There is sure, therefore, to be widespread sympathy for the plea, which has been slowly gathering force in recent years, that something should be done to improve its conditions, if only as an expression of gratitude by the community to those who rank so high among its benefactors. As things stand the profession affords an excellent example of a large group of activities in whose case both the desirability and the difficulty of some improved form of organisation is manifest.

In certain respects nurses are perhaps better off than some other vocational groups. Since 1919 they have enjoyed the benefit of a system of registration which at any rate secures that appointments under public authorities must be made from trained practitioners only. The General Nursing Council, on which the different types of nurses have nine representatives to six appointed by the Government, licenses hospitals for training, conducts examinations, and keeps a register on which about six thousand nurses are enrolled. The advantages of this limited organisation are offset by some serious defects. To begin with, there is no clear legal definition of the term "nurse," which, apart from those on the register, can mean anything or nothing in the way of qualifications and is of course freely used. In the second place, the employment afforded by public authorities is limited, and neither midwives nor mental hospital nurses, to cite two important examples, come within the scope of the Council's work. Finally, such matters as conditions and duration of work, rates of pay and superannuation have nothing to do with the Council at all.

Here we come upon a fallacious analogy with the older organised professions, which seems to be a real stumbling-block to improvement in the case of nurses. It is assumed that, like doctors and lawyers, they should be quite well able to look after the economic side of their work themselves, and that all they need for this purpose is an organisation on

the lines of the Medical Union or the Incorporated Law Society. Unfortunately, the conditions under which nurses enter upon and work in their profession render such organisation in their case exceptionally difficult. They begin a very severe training at a very early age; their hours are often so long that they have little or no time for meeting and discussion; and by the nature of their work they have to be generally on the move. As a result of these difficulties only about a third of those registered are members of the two chief organisations which look after their professional interests. Here is a case where some departure must surely be made from the model of the older professions, and a system devised which will combine the work of registration with that of protection. In this regard, Dr. Moore's suggestion that the medical profession should take a more active interest in the organisation of the nurses is warmly to be recommended. In all probability its co-operation will be essential before the ideal can be attained of having every nurse in Eire a member of one great nursing organisation.

We are quite probably on the threshold of a new age which will be marked by a universal distrust of State intervention in any but a carefully delimited group of activities. With Dr. Moore's warning against the dangers of bureaucracy there will be far wider sympathy today than there could have been fifteen or twenty years ago. The State in the present condition of things has an immense task of reorganisation to perform. What it unfortunately tends almost of its very nature to do is not to organise but to swallow up into itself every form of organisation with which it comes in contact. The alternative to bureaucracy is however not inaction but voluntary organisation, and there is no doubt that vocations and professions wide-awake enough to secure full co-operation among their members can do a very great deal for themselves. All branches of the medical profession, as Dr. Moore says, have common interests, and their interests are bound up in a special way with that of the community as a whole. Would it not be possible for all to co-operate to form a National Health Council, which could consider and discuss in a more systematic way than is now possible the manifold problems connected with public health daily pressing for attention? Such a body would be bound sooner or later to be given official status, and no other body could so satisfactorily deal with the difficulties and disabilities of the nursing profession.

The great desiderata in the case of nurses are easy enough to formulate; the real trouble is to secure enough force behind the demand for them. One is a fuller and stricter system of registration, which will give properly trained nurses an exclusive title and status and make room, inside the profession with its general training, for the many special techniques that are developing so rapidly in this as in other professions. Another, as Dr. Moore suggests, is the extension of training to include some system

of university courses ending in a diploma. The difficulty in this would be principally financial, but the means to surmount it certainly exist. It should of course be regarded rather as an acknowledgment of the profession's importance than as the indication of a belief in any present imperfection in the standard of professional work, which is admittedly admirable.

Provision for these two needs would in itself do much to improve the conditions under which nurses must work; but it should be accompanied from the beginning by some form of pension scheme, which is the economic improvement most needed at the moment.

The nurses alone are not in a position to secure these things by their unaided efforts. We should ask ourselves seriously whether they are not things which we owe to ourselves quite as much as to a gallant and faithful profession, to which every one of us is to a greater or lesser extent indebted.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

NO. 3.—BY JOHN P. SHANLEY

President of the Medical Association of Éire

NURSING as a properly defined profession is a development of comparatively recent times. Nevertheless the trained state-registered nurse of today succeeds to a vast fellowship of devoted women who, through the ages, have given themselves unselfishly for the relief of human suffering. Although it may be said that the germ of the hospital idea existed in the ancient Babylonian custom of bringing the sick into the market place for consultation and that the Iatreia and Aesculapii of the Greeks and Romans served a similar purpose, the spirit of antiquity towards sickness and misfortune was not one of compassion. The ministering to those who are ill, with charity and benevolence on an extended scale, belongs altogether to Christianity. This spirit reaches its apotheosis in the work of the modern nurse, who adds to it knowledge and skill.

It is not perhaps generally known how thorough and detailed is the training that the nurse has now to undergo. Some appreciation of this may be gained by a mere enumeration of the list of subjects in the syllabus for General Training: First Year: Anatomy and Physiology, First Aid, Invalid Cookery, Theory and Practice of Nursing; Second and Third Year: Hygiene and Bacteriology, Dietetics, Materia Medica and Therapeutics, Medicine, Surgery, Gynaecology, Ophthalmic and Aural Surgery, Practical Nursing. Of all these subjects a considerable knowledge is required to satisfy the examiners. So that the nurse necessarily spends her pre-graduate years practically wholly between the ward and the lecture room. Time off is short and often not very regular during the working year.

Having completed the minimum three years at her hospital and passed

her examinations, the nurse becomes entitled to have her name, on paying the requisite fee, entered on the Register. The Nurses' Registration Act of 1919 is the charter of the trained nurse. This Act established the General Nursing Council, upon whom devolves the duty of keeping the Register. It ensures a uniform system of training and a high standard of knowledge attested by searching examinations. It gives the nurse definite status and, to a great extent, protects her from the competition of the unskilled outsider—the so-called " handy-woman " of former times. It may be remarked, *en passant*, that the nursing uniform should be registered in order that it could not be worn by those not entitled to do so.

Another advance would be the linking up of the nurses' Training School with the University to provide an opportunity for those who desire to do so to proceed to higher qualification by taking out degrees in a university faculty of nursing. It can, however, never be lost sight of that the main training of the nurse is at the bedside of the patient—her main work being the practical and sympathetic nursing of the sick. It should also be recognised that the ability, care and psychological influence of the nurse is often not less important to the successful results of medical treatment than is the scientific knowledge and skill of the physician or surgeon.

The unique importance of the nurse to the individual and to the community cannot be gainsaid. Yet for all her arduous training and for all she gives, what is her reward? Certainly little materially. Professor Moore has described the present position and the poor prospects of the nurse. Unfortunately the picture he presents is only too true. Notwithstanding all the scientific and academic advances that have been made in her education, her incomparably greater skill and competence, and the indispensable nature of her work for the individual and the community, her outlook is often little better than it was a century ago. While everybody agrees that the nurse is poorly paid, her hours scandalously long, her work arduous and worrying, and her future frequently dismal, yet little has been done to improve these conditions. Why especially has the medical profession, which owes so much to the assistance of the nurse, not done more to help her?

Professor Moore suggests that the Medical Association should take a more active interest in the nurses' welfare. With this I would agree, but the truth is that the Association has been so engaged with its own problems during those menacing days, which had dawned for the profession even before the thunder clouds of war came, that it has had little time to tackle additional problems. A major difficulty, however, which has to be overcome is the formation of a unified organisation that can speak for all nurses. The individualism of the nurse, to a large extent inherent in the nature of her work, is so rooted that it is no easy matter to weld her with her fellows in a coherent whole. The same obstacle was met with in the case of the medical profession—and perhaps

to an even greater extent. Yet we eventually succeeded, though only recently, in producing one representative association which can now act authoritatively for all doctors. At present none of the different nursing organisations, in spite of the efforts of very active secretaries, has enrolled in its membership more than a small fraction of the nurses. Yet the position has improved recently, and it is to be hoped that soon there will be a single association fully qualified to represent, if not all, the great majority of nurses. It is not too much to promise that, when such a body comes into being, it will gladly have more than mere lip-service from the Medical Association. Yet while awaiting this happy *dénouement*, there is no reason why closer contacts should not, immediately and without wasting further time, be established between the existing nurses' organisations and the Medical Association.

Recognising the gloomy prospects of the working nurse as she reaches middle age, with no other resources than what she earns and with comparatively poor expectations of employment at that age, a move has been made to set up a pension fund for nurses. Such a fund could best, perhaps, be established on a contributory basis. The great disadvantage of this is that many years would have to elapse before it would be of sufficient dimensions to pay even moderately adequate pensions. Another method suggested is that funds could be rapidly collected under the Sweepstakes' Acts. It is unlikely, however, that the authorities would at present consider any further divarication of the money so raised. The Sweepstakes are not now run for the benefit of the hospitals only, which are still far short of the sums needed, but also for the Red Cross, while at the same time they have become but the ghosts of their former opulent selves. Another objection which might be raised to this means is that it would give an excuse to the public and to public authorities for continuing to refuse to shoulder their proper responsibility to pay nurses adequately for the work they do.

For several years it has been sought to establish a Rest Home where nurses could recuperate and convalesce, but for even such a minor though highly-desirable project it has not yet been found possible to accumulate the necessary capital. Surely it is not unreasonable to expect a grant of the comparatively small amount required for this purpose from the Sweepstake funds.

Granted that nursing is essentially a work of self-sacrifice for which the reward cannot be here, and granted that the work of itself is truly worth while and as noble as any that God has offered to mankind—quieting the pains of childhood, steeling manhood and womanhood to endure the tortures of pain, bearing with the exacting querulousness of old age, ministering indeed from the cradle to the grave—surely still the nurse deserves even in this world more reasonable treatment and recompense for the great services she renders to the community. JOHN P. SHANLEY

NO. 4.—BY PROFESSOR MARY M. MACKEN, M.A.

I AM an outsider in the matter of nurses, and I am not fully acquainted with the regulations governing their training, employment and distribution through the country under Local Government or other control. But it is obvious that nurses are a necessity to a civilised community, that they render national service, and that they are—though by no means alone in that respect—underpaid. Their living, where they are not permanently in the service of a hospital or district, is precarious, depending on the incidence of illness as well as on the purchasing power of the individual invalid. Even two guineas a week plus food and laundry is often an impossible luxury for the average Irish family, so that the amateur must needs oust the professional.

The main grievances of the nursing body are, I take it, two : unemployment and enforced early retirement without adequate provision for illness and old age. The first of these is casting its long shadow on many more professions than the one we are now discussing. After the last world war I worked on a committee dealing with funds for the training of women whose finances had been adversely affected by the upheaval. Certain professions were from the outset taboo ; they were over-crowded and afforded poor prospect of employment. One of these was nursing. That was 1918. I have no figures to go upon, but I am sure the field is, in this country at least, no better now. If we had any well-thought schemes of vocational guidance in connection with our leaving-school-age girls, some at least of those who enter the profession of nursing might be deterred. Too many enter because the entrance at least is easy or because it holds out hopes of early and attractive marriage or because nursing is supposed to be " nice." It is " nicer," too, here than in England, because here a substantial hospital fee is usually required and since, during the four or five years of training, there is little if any remuneration, the family of the trainee must be of a class able to provide all the incidental expenses. These are not light, involving amongst other things frocks and frills for off-duty hours, an occasional dance, tea, cinema or theatre, and the inevitable cigarette.

The question of raising the status of the nursing profession by University Courses and a Diploma has been mentioned by Dr. Moore. The first requisite for such improved status would surely be a standardised educational minimum at entrance to any hospital (County Home or otherwise). Such a minimum could be either the Matriculation or Leaving Certificate (with Latin). It is not easy to see how the Universities could carry on higher courses for nurses unless there was a University Hospital, for which there is indeed more than need in the present congested condition of Medical Schools. Even though the argument may be used that I would increase the number of aspirants to the nursing profession

by the proposal I am now going to make, I should like to see the hospital entrance fee either abolished altogether or else reduced to a nominal figure. I also wish that remuneration could start when the services of the probationer begin to be useful to her institution. That would make it possible for the poor but well-educated girl *with a real vocation for nursing* to train for her profession at home without imposing a burden, often of debt which she has little hope of paying off, on her family.

From the little experience I have of nurses I certainly think them underpaid in hospitals and equally certainly overworked and—dare I say it?—overdrilled. Even in private homes the tempo is a strain and the nurse is, moreover, often engaged in tasks which should normally fall to the lot of an attendant of one kind or another. I am not foolish enough to think that discipline or drill is not essential to training. It may well be held vital in the training of a nurse. But the philosophy of "hers not to reason why, hers but to do or die" can be carried too far. It is to the advantage of neither nurse nor patient. There is bad psychology somewhere or perhaps over-mechanisation. I do not know!

I have never seen the balance sheets of hospitals or nursing homes. They may be disquieting for those who run them. But I am quite sure that these institutions could, with advantage, have more generous staffing, especially at night. That would mean more all-round employment. It would, you may object, lessen the number of "specials." Only the very rich can really afford such luxuries. Their disemployment would be more than compensated by the raising of the all-round rate. If the staffing were adequate, relaxation would be adequate also. Surely the medical boards of hospitals have some say in all that! Is there no 8-hour day for a nurse?

For nurses in private practice it seems to me that the co-operative system, as Professor Moore has outlined it, is not good. The yearly fee is high and the nurse's return for it—in a healthy year—must be poor. A Nurses' Club, if only some munificent person or group of persons would supply the buildings, would obviate the scattered co-ops. and absorb those who run as well as those who support the private enterprise. The fees required by a such a club would be much smaller and the amenities considerable. It is astonishing in this country how little the nursing profession profits from private munificence. We are in this country charitably disposed, but we are not socially minded. Would it be against the Acts governing the Hospitals Trust to have some of their money set aside for the founding and financing of such Nurses' Clubs in various centres? Wealthy private individuals or industrial or professional groups or even the Government itself in its capacity as legatee might also be induced to part with commodious houses in the country. What rest-houses they would make for invalided or retired members of this fine profession!

Such gifts would perpetuate the names and do honour to the memories of the donors.

I cannot say that I agree with Professor Moore that the Government should be the prime mover in a superannuation scheme. I take it that there are such schemes for Government-employed or District-employed nurses. If they are inadequate, then the Nurses' Organization should be up and doing. For hospital nurses surely the hospitals are primarily responsible, and yet we learn that only a minority of them concern themselves with such a crying need. There is something wrong somewhere. If the hospital salaries were adequate, then the nurses could contribute and insurance companies could be called in, as was done in the case of secondary school teachers once upon a time in England. I think a much more vital matter is adequate pay and full employment. For the former I daresay agitation is necessary. We live in a very material world. For the latter there are perhaps other remedies than inducing the Homes or Hospitals to refrain from understaffing. These remedies are national in character. Can anything be done about it?

I am sure the two women doctors who made such an impression at the recent meeting of Muintir na Tire at Mungret College could give us points on " The Dispensary and the Nurse." If we only had a Minister of Health " without portfolio " or " politics," he or she would see to it that *every* dispensary district had its fully-trained hospital nurse, even if it could not have (say) a Cottage Hospital. The district or parish ought to be able to provide an adequate salary and pension. It would be more than re-paid—even in money—by the preventative work that she could do.

Dr. Moore seems to have doubts about Nurses' Clubs outside of Dublin. I am going to be the fool and step in where angels fear to tread. For I think that the only chance this country has to save what is worth saving —its people—is decentralisation. I would decentralise nurses, hospitals, schools, doctors, lawyers, civil servants—even ministries! That would not only save petrol. It would stop the emigration of brains and brawn, and would make for an all-round improvement in living. City groups might pay less Income Tax! The country would pay more! Money would be created for centres of every sort—nurses included. Such a *healthy* circulation would be bound to lessen unemployment in all professions—including the one under discussion. The country districts and towns would then present a different appearance. Why not such a ministry to do the work of planning and execution? If a man cannot be found willing to stay out of politics, what is wrong with a woman?

Dr. Moore alluded to a 100 per cent. registration of nurses in the Organization. I cannot understand why such a percentage does not exist. If for Irish Nurses' Organization one were to substitute Irish Nurses' Registration Council on the lines of the Irish Medical Registration

Council—would all the nurses then come in and support one another? I have a queer hunch that, in the nurses' group, as in so many others, there is perhaps some element of snobbery. There are, perhaps, " grades " in the profession. One hospital is " nicer " than another ; and the County Homes are, of course, not " nice " at all. Until such considerations are laid aside (if they do exist, I do not know) nothing can be done by or for the nurses. The lucky ones must only find a solution of their difficulties in a husband and a home ; the unlucky ones will continue to fight a losing battle.

MARY M. MACKEN

NO. 5.—BY PROFESSOR JOHN KAY JAMIESON

Professor of Anatomy in the University of Leeds 1910–1936
Professor of Anatomy in the University of Dublin since 1936

IT is only in the last quarter-century that practical steps have been taken to better the conditions and prospects of the nursing profession. The Nightingale influence soused the public mind in a cloying sticky sentimentalism of wordy praise—" devotion " " sympathy " " sacrifice " " nobility of service." This hampered all efforts to improve the living conditions of the profession and to free the minds of nurses from anxieties and discomforts inimical to the exercise of the very qualities so much vaunted on platforms and in print. In both public and private work praise and gratitude were deemed sufficient compensation for overwork, underpay, poor living conditions and the prospect of starvation in old age.

It is possible that the universal service of the Great War directed the attention of men and women to the difference between the life and prospects of the Military and Civil sections of the profession. It was in and after that war that a great impulse was given to schemes of amelioration as a practical acknowledgment of the devotion of women in that period.

At the same time a fillip was given to the matter of better training, about which many hospitals had concerned themselves previously but rather languidly and according to the enthusiasm of a few individuals here and there. Certain hospitals had already secured a hall-mark for their Certificates of Proficiency. I was associated with a hospital (Leeds) in which a " Nursing School," with a training period of four years, was evolved, mainly by the unrelaxing energies of the chairman, matron and one of the physicians. A graduated course of training in the same regular course as a medical curriculum was carried on under a special committee of the hospital board ; and the didactic instruction was undertaken by experienced Clinical teachers, serving as lecturers for a number of years.

Out of this experiment arose the need for tutors to assist the probationers, and thus the need of an equivalent post-graduate training for selected nurses. Something of the nature of an F.R.C.S. had to be

devised. This was done by instituting a University Diploma in Nursing. Circumstances were favourable; the University, its Medical School and the General Infirmary were in close proximity and co-operation. I was the lecturer in anatomy and physiology for nurses, and as Dean it was my privilege to pilot the scheme through the University bodies and to see the institution of the first Diploma in Nursing in the Empire.

The fact of "favourable circumstances" must be emphasised; but not as a discouragement. No difficulty is insurmountable, and it is a necessity for all promoters to bear in mind the odium attached to those who put their hands to the plough and look back.

Among the perplexities attending any such scheme are the fundamental difficulties in balance. In the scheme of training and examination for this diploma much care was taken to lay stress on practical proficiency in the craft of nursing, business capacity and personality. Holders of diplomas are in the first instance picked for proficiency in nursing and may aspire to responsible offices requiring business insight and managerial gifts, yet undiverted, by too much stress on scientific attainments, from an adherence to a principle in the training of their probationers pithily expressed by a Victorian surgeon: "The equipment of a nurse is sympathy and list-slippers."

As in many other lines of training in which a comparatively elementary knowledge of the fundamental sciences is required to render a person intelligent, not expert, to understand and so to explain the working of a machine, the difficulty is to provide courses for sister tutors and candidates for a diploma. To be effective such courses should be *ad hoc* and in institutions devoted to the instruction of women. London has an advantage in possessing King's College of Household and Social Science in which there are courses in elementary science for this purpose. After taking the sister tutor's certificate, the work of a tutor may be so combined with hospital work as to be a step on the way to a diploma, ensuring that the diploma is not a piece of paper, but a guarantee of competence to shoulder a wide responsibility.

Utopian notions may be laudable, but they lie inert in print and burgeon without fruition in sentimental speeches. A comprehensive co-operative scheme is a mere vision to regale the imagination. One knows of many enterprises, long-imagined and long-desired, which had birth, growth and eminence only after someone had the courage to make a beginning, however trifling, which focussed attention and proved a magnet for the aid of brains and money. J. Kay Jamieson

NO. 6—BY ANNIE M. SMITHSON

Secretary of the Irish Nurses' Organization

We have been called the Cinderella of the professions. Why? Not because our profession is unworthy or of little moment. Far from it.

Surely the nursing profession should rank amongst the highest, taking its place at the side of the sister profession of medicine. The value of a good nurse is recognised by all, and often the recovery of the patient depends as much—if not more—upon skilled nursing as upon the best medical attention.

The answer to our question, in my opinion, is based upon the knowledge that most people value less those things for which they have to pay little, while they put a higher value on that for which they have to pay much more. And what other profession is as badly paid as that of the nurse? We acknowledge that this is partly the fault of the nurse herself. For years now she has put up with salaries and conditions which would be tolerated by no other body of workers, professional or otherwise. She is scandalously underpaid; she is on duty often as long as 12 or 13 hours; when on a private case she is sometimes expected to be up night and day, getting what rest she can and when she can; she is also sometimes on continuous night duty for as long as twenty years. No wonder, then, that she is often worn out before she is sixty. And what is facing her then? Has she been able to save enough to give her some security for her old age? And from what could she save? The nurse in private practice must try and save from her paltry earnings, as she has no pension to which she can look forward. She must be seventy before she can draw the Old Age Pension, and the years between sixty and seventy are generally the hardest for these poor women. In the meantime, if attached to a Co-operative Home, she must pay her fee of £10 or £12 per annum, whether she is working or idle; and she must also pay for her board and sleeping accommodation if staying in the Home—even though the latter is frequently of the Box and Cox type.

Nurses working under Local Authorities have their superannuation; and small as this is, it will at least keep them from entering the County Homes or Dublin Union, where some of our nurses are now ending their days. If a National Pension Scheme were started, what an untold benefit it would be to those nurses who, through age or ill-health, can work no longer. For the younger nurse such a scheme could be on a contributory basis, so that in future every nurse would have some definite security for her old age. There are some who say that nurses do not remain in the profession—that most of them marry. Certainly some may do so; but many do not, as we know too well; and some who do marry, lose their husbands at an early age and have to return to nursing.

Another matter for which the Nurses' Organisation is working is the establishment of a Hostel and Club for Nurses. We want a large house, in a central situation, where nurses coming to Dublin for holidays or to attend one of the post-graduate courses organised by the Irish Nurses' Organisation could stay. Lectures could be given at the Club and various social functions held. This Hostel and Club would be a meeting-place

for nurses, and we know that it would supply a very definite want and be warmly welcomed. All we want is—money! But where are we to get it? Hardly from the nurses themselves, for they have little enough for their own needs. And that brings us to another matter—the question of better salaries.

Surely the services of a nurse deserve better remuneration than the miserable fees which she now receives? A labourer in constant work is better paid, while the skilled workman would scorn the salary paid to a trained nurse. Is this as it should be? For years the Irish Nurses' Organisation has been endeavouring to get these salaries increased, and in many cases it has been able to do so. But it was hard work. We were as a voice crying in the wilderness, no one heeding us, little notice being taken of us even by the nurses themselves. But, at last, there are signs of a general awakening among members of our profession; they are now really alive to their own interests. The staffs of the Hospitals, Nursing Homes and Co-operative Homes are now joining the Organisation in large numbers, and it is anticipated that before long there will not be a nurse in Ireland who is not a member of her own professional organisation. It is now up to the nurses themselves to make a stand for an all-round betterment of their conditions.

Our nurses are known and admired both at home and abroad. Their profession is one to which the community is deeply indebted. Yet it is only recently—comparatively speaking—that their status has been recognised to any appreciable extent. State Registration has done much for both the General Nurse and the Midwife in this respect. But much remains to be accomplished yet. The better educated the nurse is, the higher her qualifications, so much the better should be her status and rate of remuneration. The Irish Nurses' Organisation is in communication with the Universities and hopes that these bodies will be able to arrange for a Course leading to a Diploma in Nursing, such as is given by Leeds and other Universities.

It is a far cry to the days of Mrs. Gamp. And yet that lady was probably in receipt of fees as high—if not higher—than the Dispensary midwives of only twenty years ago in Ireland, whose "salary" was £20 to £25 per annum, out of which they had to provide rent, food, clothes—everything. To-day they receive the magnificent sum of £40, rising to £80 per annum. Is this enough? These women are out day and night, in all weathers, with two lives depending upon their skill. It is the same with the general nurse—inadequate pay, bad conditions, insecurity, unprovided old age.

Surely it is time that all this were changed, time that our nurses were given their rightful position amongst us. This is the object, this the goal, for which the Irish Nurses' Organisation is working. We can only pray that God will bless our efforts—and our nurses.

ANNIE M. SMITHSON

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NO. 7.—BY RUTH C. NICOLLS

Hon. Secretary of the Irish Guild of Catholic Nurses
Editor of the *Irish Nursing News*

IT would be wrong—because untrue—to allow it to appear as though the Irish Guild of Catholic Nurses, whilst focussing attention primarily upon the spiritual needs of the Nursing Profession, were uninterested in its temporal necessities.

The Nurse—like every human being—is composed of soul and body; and it is essentially characteristic of the Guild, as of every Catholic "activity," to consider its members *as complete human entities.* To divorce the interests of *the body* from those of *the soul* is a totally un-Christian concept of life, since God our Creator has wedded them on earth and for an ultimate eternity.

Various bodies exist whose purpose, mainly, is consideration of the temporal affairs of the Nursing Profession; these have definite spheres of action, one of the most important being to help those interested to formulate, clarify and develop the views which, as beings endowed with reason, they should be able to put forward when required.

Since its own members are entitled to have and to express such views, it follows that the Guild must be interested in their objects. But the aspirations of the Catholic Guild embrace the well-being of *all* Nurses; the present discussion, therefore, is one in which it must take an active interest or be untrue to itself, whilst—from their nature—the actual development of the matters considered belongs to the plan of an approved nursing-body specialising in this aspect of the Nurse's life.

The subject of *Pensions for Nurses* is too big to be treated superficially; it is essential to understand what exactly the phrase conveys to those using it. To some it stands, obviously, for a pension to be handed out to every Nurse by the Government without any co-operation on the part of the recipient beyond the fact that she *is* a Nurse of specified age. To others the phrase means something more concrete and, incidentally, more in keeping with actual circumstances, *viz.* a *Superannuation Fund,* resting upon a contributory basis—the Nurse, the Hospital and, if necessary, the Government, each paying an agreed sum annually over a period of years, with an annuity (or a bulk sum) guaranteed to the Nurse at a certain age or in specified circumstances. (In the voluntary scheme adopted in other countries the accepted retiral age is 55.)

Were the matter taken up, through an approved organised body such as the Irish Nurses' Organisation, it seems probable that, given wide-spread support by the Profession and by the Hospital Authorities, the co-operation of the Government Department concerned would lie within a reasonable figure.

Meetings of Nurses should be called throughout the country by the

body responsible for directing the scheme; members of its Executive Committee should be officially present, with an expert in Assurance business to explain fully the working of such a plan. Questions should be cordially invited so that those present might have specialised advice immediately. Nurses all over Ireland would be thus supplied with the same authoritative information at, more or less, the same time, and unity of opinion might be reasonably expected without undue delay.

The case of the Nurse who, by reason of age or permanent ill-health, might be debarred from the benefits of a superannuation scheme would come within the scope of the Nurses' Rest Home Fund for which the Irish Guild of Catholic Nurses has collected, so far, £4,000 (invested under Trustees). This Fund should be capable of expansion, without insuperable difficulty, to the proportions necessary for purchase, equipment and endowment. The plan always envisaged by the Guild would accommodate also, in suitable quarters, Nurses requiring convalescence or holiday—all irrespective of religious denomination. Such a house should be within (*a*) moderate fare from Dublin, (*b*) easy access of Church, shops, bus, etc., and (*c*) reasonable reach of the sea, direct sea-air being sometimes contra-indicated.

Other aspects of the subject claim consideration. *For the Nurse in Training:* a Preliminary Training School is most desirable. Here, during a period of three months, she becomes acquainted with theory and practice, receiving instruction on the first part of the Syllabus in preparation for the Preliminary State Examination. Ward duties occupy two hours daily, thus relieving the Probationer from the strain of combining lectures with full ward routine whilst new to hospital life and thus avoiding the need for Relief Nurses during lecture hours. *Living accommodation* calls for attention: separate bedrooms are desirable, with adequate lecture and study rooms. *For the Trained Nurse:* there is the question of salaries, and opportunities are needed for doing the Course for the Diploma in Nursing. *For the Private Nurse:* the whole status requires revision.

In every branch of the Profession, Post-Graduate Courses should be available for Ward and Tutor Sisters, Administrative Departmental Sisters, District Nurses, Midwives and Private Nurses.

RUTH C. NICOLLS

NO. 8.—BY P. J. GANNON, S.J.

IT is readily granted, I presume, that our Irish nurses are one of the most deserving and, at the same time, one of the worst treated elements in our social system. Of their merits it is almost banal to speak. The profession is now universally honoured. It has long passed out of the category of menial employments into that of a highly respected calling—as respected

as medicine itself and perhaps more universally esteemed. Mr. Dooley long ago put, in his characteristic way, what men in general feel. *A propos* of Christian Science and its claims he summed up thus: "Hinnissy, if the Christian Scientists had more science or the Doctors more Christianity, you'd be safe with either—provided you had a good nurse." And the emphasis lies on the proviso.

Nor will the doctors take offence. It is not they who will question the services to humanity done by the "good nurse." They are the warmest advocates of the reforms which are called for if nursing is to cease to be the Cinderella among the professions. For that it remains the Cinderella even up to the present, in spite of considerable improvement on the status of long ago, cannot be doubted. No one who knows the life of a nurse—the severe training necessary for qualification, the hard and often repellent duties she has to perform, the precarious nature of her employment, the dangerous risks she runs, the great responsibility involved, and in addition the necessity of being always bright, cheerful and sympathetic—no one who knows all this can fail to agree that nurses in general are poorly requited for their signal services to the community.

This is a poor country, where nearly everybody leads a straitened and harassed life. It may please some tub-thumpers to inveigh against the "bloated plutocrats" of their imagining. In reality the number of plutocrats in Ireland could probably be counted on a man's fingers. As a rule businesses, industries, institutions and individuals are most of the time striving to stave off bankruptcy. The percentage of the population with what moral theologians call superfluous wealth is lower perhaps than in any other country of equal size. Even the Government has little money to play with. In well-meant, if not always well-conceived, endeavours to effect various improvements—economic, social, cultural—taxation and public indebtedness have increased perilously, while the basic industry—the land—has been shrinking in output and ceasing to give a decent living to owners or labourers. All this must be borne in mind by enthusiasts who, seeing obvious evils and hardships, call upon the State to intervene and to find the money for their many schemes. A State must live within its income, and it is the first duty of rulers to see to that. We must not think a minister unfeeling because he practises a shrewd economy in the dispensation of public funds. If he does not do so, the idealists one and all may find themselves pledged to extravagant reforms with an empty treasury. Now that the great world has gone mad and dissipated its accumulated capital on an unexampled scale, all states and peoples must resign themselves to hard times—as hard as the world has ever known.

Still the claims of the nurses are temperate in the extreme. They may be reduced to two or three: a pension scheme to provide against

their old age, so that a life of sacrifice may not end in a County Home or dependent on the charity of relatives equally poor; some form of hostel foundation which would provide a comfortable and cheap home for nurses during the weeks and months of unemployment—and would also act as co-op. or central bureau of employment; a rest home near the sea for all who need rest at any time or age—whether in active service or in pensioned retirement. We may be poor, but not so poor as to justify us in evading this duty to a body of women who, more than any other, give their lives that others may have life—may have health and happiness. Nursing, like medicine and teaching, is a profession which, even when it is not a religious vocation, is so nearly that as hardly matters. A good nurse is a Lady of the Lamp shining in the dark places of the world—giving an example of noble living without which we should be sadly impoverished in the moral order. When she knows how to sanctify her calling by a religious purpose, she need fear comparison with none on earth.

Our Irish nurses have the very highest traditions of their high profession. Not a few of them have been decorated in England for almost incredible feats of devotion to duty in the blitzed cities of that sorely-tried land. This is really only bringing an ancient record up to date; for Irishwomen have played no inconsiderable part in the whole story of the profession in the British Isles, the United States and the British Colonies—religious sisters first, but also in later years and in increasing numbers the lay ladies who have followed in their wake. The story has been told from time to time, but never adequately and with full justice to the daughters of our race. English writers have had a bias for stressing the Irish nationality of those in their midst who did anything unworthy or unbecoming in their eyes. They have been less insistent on the place of origin of those who won the V.C., the D.S.O. or other distinction redounding to the credit of the individual. And Irishmen have been too indolent or too indifferent to search the records and give us a really authoritative account of our national share in the glory.

It is not my purpose to make good this defect in regard to our nurses. The occasion of a comment on an article is hardly an excuse for doing so, even if I had the necessary documents, which I have not. But I may be permitted to recall one incident which has a certain topicality. In recent months the Crimea has figured much in the press; in 1854 it figured equally in the press and for the same reason—as being the scene of terrible battles and appalling suffering. The evolution of the modern nurse in the English-speaking world may be said to date from the Crimean War and the influence of Florence Nightingale. In the legend which has grown round the latter we hear little or nothing of the devoted Irishwomen who assisted her in her work of mercy. In the July issue of the *Irish*

Messenger of the Sacred Heart their story is briefly told by Mrs. Thomas Concannon :—

> After the battle of Alma, with its heavy lists of casualties, bitter letters of complaint came back to England from Scutari demanding to know why the French wounded were so much better cared for than the British. The reason was that the French Army Commanders had instinctively turned for help to the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul. In bands of twenty-five they went out, wherever they were needed, and the French hospitals, under the care of the " White Bonnets," became the envy—and reproach—of the hard-pressed medical corps attached to the British forces. Why, it was asked, are there no such nurses in England? . . . .
>
> Then a brilliant idea occurred to Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Manning. Why should not the Sisterhoods, who had won their spurs nursing the sick poor through the cholera and typhus visitations, be called on for volunteers? The suggestion, made to Miss Stanley and Lady Herbert, was immediately acted upon ; and when Miss Nightingale arrived in Scutari she had five Sisters of Mercy from Bermondsey and five from a convent of Norwood, all under the leadership of a great Irish nun, Mother Clare Moore. But more were needed, and an appeal was broadcast among the Irish daughters of Mother Catherine McAuley. Fifteen Sisters, recruited from Kinsale (which sent its own Superior), Dublin, Carlow, Charleville, Cork, sailed with the second contingent of ladies and nurses, under Miss Stanley, and landed in Constantinople a few weeks before Christmas 1854.
>
> Among the band was a young nun from Carlow, Sister Aloysius, who, outliving all her comrades, died not so many years ago in the Convent of Mercy, Gort. In the year of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee . . . . she was the recipient of a " royal command " to visit Buckingham Palace and receive from the Queen's hands the " Royal Red Cross." The weight of seventy-six years and the infirmities of age dispensed her from the journey, and the decoration was conferred in a less formal and public manner.

We may fairly conclude that the majority of the first batch under Mother Moore—if not indeed all—were Irish or of Irish descent. Thus, over a score of the ladies who did the work, while Florence Nightingale carried the Lamp and caught the spotlight, were Irishwomen—forerunners of the many thousands who have followed " unwept, unhonoured, and unsung." The chaplain of these nuns was Father William Ronan, S.J., who, as the present writer well remembers, used to tell of many an encounter with the great Miss Florence to obtain some little time for the nuns to say their prayers. It is a grand and inspiring story which merits investigation and a worthy record before all memory of it passes away or is merged in the Nightingale saga.

It will be seen then that Irish nurses have " traditions manifold ". That they sustain them still will be admitted by all in any position to pass a reasonable judgment. All the more imperious, therefore, is their claim to fair treatment. Their status is no longer in question. They enjoy universal esteem. But, to borrow from Juvenal, *laudantur et algent*—they are praised but left to freeze. Not unfrequently the cold attic of the poet is paralleled in their case, and they lack the poet's consolation of being able to make a song about it. At the best they get a meagre pittance little

commensurate with their services. At the worst—but the worst does not bear telling. It is too humiliating for all concerned.

It is not my function in this symposium to discuss the details of reform. The difficulties are many. Some, it must be confessed, spring from a lack of co-operation among the nurses themselves, who in youth look forward as a rule to the more alluring prospect of a home and a nursery of their own. But the difficulties are not insuperable. They can be overcome if it be realised that trained nurses are entitled (1) to adequate remuneration for their skilled and highly important work; (2) to consideration for the peculiar circumstances of their calling, which involve in rapid succession spells of overwork and spells—sometimes very long—of unemployment; and (3) to security in sickness and old age. I have been requested merely to state a case. But the truth is that the case hardly needs statement. It is already well known and conceded. Let us hope that a serious effort will be made to meet it, and that before long Cinderella will be rescued from the ogre of neglect. She has been too long the ill-used step-daughter of the community.

P. J. Gannon

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

LXIII

GLORY OF SADHBH

To Sadhbh, dau. of Cathal Óg Ó Conchobhair (+1324) and of Ailbhe (family unknown). The poem was probably written while her first husband, Flaithbheartach Ó Ruairc (+1349) was alive. She afterwards married Niall Mág Shamhradháin (+1362).

niall ó huiginn cc.

1. Eirre trom trillre Saidbe,
eagla i bfuilead fionnfailge ;
barr mar fionndruine ar úr dat,
an cúl fionnbuide fleasgaċ.

2. Ní héadtrom an t-eirre cinn,
an punann fuilt bláit boigfinn
n-a freit glantruim ar géig Mir ;
ní hacmaing breit a baitir.

3. Sreat ban bíor ar a nglúimib
failcear don gil gormfúilig ;
ór beirt duinn dá fuit fuilcear
'r a druim re hucт n-ionailteaд.

4. Folt Saidbe mar a rnáċ óir
gur mealа—móide a honóir—
trilir druimneaċ ciaд ċlannaċ,
an tuigneaċ fiar [fiar]rannaċ

5. [Gad]aid re rige a fuilt ċair
bireaċ conaig craob Duirlair ;
adnaid aoib ag breit birig
le dreiċ raoir na Saidbeirin.

6. Bíd gaċ uair failcear dire,
ar dtairbéanaд a trillreire,
re folt gcamlag clad gcordа
farmad ban a bantroċta.

7. Inġean Í Conċuḃuiṙ Ċliaċ
bean aiṙġniġ Áṫa finnĊliaṫ
céaḋ bláṫċṙaoḃ ann ṙe fiġe
baṙṙ ṙnáṫċaoi aṙ Saiṙḋine.

8. Ní léiṙ taiṁṙ a taoḃ ġeal
a ṙoiṫ ṫṙom an ṫṙáṫ ṙġaoiṫeaṙ ;
ó baṙṙ ṙéiḋ úṙ n-a iḋiḃ
a ġlúṁ féin ní ṙaiċṙiḋiṙ.

9. Ṙaiċaiḋ a ṫṁillṙe ṫṙoma
bun ṙuilt laċan Liaṫṙoma
ní léiṙ taṙ a baṙṙ a bun
ġaċ cland n-a céiḃ aṙ ġcaṙaḋ.

10. Ḋá mnáiḃ iṙ móṙ an ceannaċ
[n-a] baṙṙ ṙaḋa ṙéiṫleannaċ
ḋoiliġe a ḋṙumḋluiġe iṙ loċt liom
ḋá ṙoiṫ ḃunḃuiḋe baiṙṙṙionn.

11. Caṙṁail ṙe huḃlaiḃ aiṙċe
ṙoiṫ ṙíoġna ṙíoġ Conṁaicne ;
ṙoiṫ ṙiaṙ ḋo-ċí 'ma ceann
ḋo iaḋ ṙa ṫṙí n-a ṫimċeall.

12. Ṙaicaḋ a heaṙla an ṫan táiṙ
ḋ'ionailtiḃ ġníḋe Ġaḃṙáin,
inġean ṙíoġ aġ fiġe a ṙuilt
ṙíon ġá iḋe ġá mionaiṫ.

13. Ní ḋoilleann aṙ ċolcaiġ ġcuiṙṙ
ṙoiṫ ṙíoġna Ráṫa Ḃṙéanainn ;
cuilt ní ṙaiḋiṙ 'mun Saiṙḋṙin,
aiṙḃiṙ ṙuilt ní anaiḋḃṙiġ.

14. Caṙṁail ṙoiṫ mná Muiġe Saṁ
ṙe maoṫḃaṙṙ [Meaḋḃa] Cṙuaċan ;
a ġnaoi aṙ ṙleiṙġ an eaṙla ṙinn
teiṙḋ a ḋealḃa maṙ Ḋoiṙṙinn.

15. An ṙinnċiaḃaċ Laċa Léin
caṙṁail [a] ṙoiṫ ṙe a ṙoiltṙéin,
ḋuail leaḃṙa aṙ maillċṙaoiḃ Miḋe
eaṙla baṙṙċaoin baillġile.

16. Dapamail a bairr rgatais
foit mátar Cuinn Céadcatais ;
Sráinne nó Una ire,
act áille clúma a céibeire.

17. Carmail foit Saidbe raoire
'r trillre Muirrne Muncaoime,
mátair Finn gan cruinne um croí
ar nar cinn duine ar domon.

18. Saidh óg an earla bacláis
mar Saidh méirreins malacduib ;
dial re hingin Cuinn Coidail
gun finngil truim tarlagais.

19. Fada uaite bíor a barr
ag bantroct craoibe Cualann ;
loct ar a fult ní faictear
'r a foit i n-uct ionailteadh.

20. Re géir laca guirm Gile
canaid maite a muinntire :
" Táinig [tuilleadh] dealba duid
re bruinneadh t'earla fionnduig."

21. Ingean Catail Cairn Dhicne
trillre croca a ceinnlitre,
iomda minfligе mall cíor
i mbarr ingine an airdríog.

22. Púdrall fionn buide ro bearr
i n-a cúl ríogna rígleann
álainn reime gac drong de
gid eire trom a trillre. Eire.

23. Do Saidh féin ir neara a-noir
canfad maith re hnaoi n'Uarlair ;
ro ba bréag olc gan duain di,
fuair a foit leat na laoide.

24. Ní héargaid éirgear a fearg
an géir gealbráigdeac gruaidhearg:
mala mar daol, dearc mar gloin,
craob Dala ir ceart ro congaib.

25. Líonaid beanglán a bairr thuim
a hucht oireagda áluinn ;
ingean Ailbe an octa gil
failge corda re cícib.

26. Chior cumdaig ceatha gceannrac
cubaid re cnear mindealbach ;
ní háil lé fa thior folur
chior agus é ar aondorus.

27. Ní fríoth loct ó cionn go coir
do fiogain déadbáin Durlais ;
molad mná Béirre do-bir,
a-tá [a] féile fa fairgin.

28. Dá láimh leadair lór d'eire
folt mná foillre Sligige ;
tógbaid tuignig gcair gcorda
do bair buingil barrchorcha.

29. Ingean Catail Chláir Mide
[Chróch]dearg tíre tairngire,
gruan ban Éireann an ingean,
an glan méirreang mínfinnghéal.

30. Bean í Ruairc Ráta Guaire,
fiogan an fuirg gormuaine,
fear ní mionáid gumad fearr
'r a bean ór fionnmnáib Éireann.

31. Ráimig fa Éirinn uile
nór mná marcaig Aoimaige ;
ir lor don mnaoi do molud
a gnaoi mór ag méadogud.

32. Sgarlóid corcha cumtar dí,
léinte breacfróill bior uimpe,
róba na fiogna ó Bóinn Breag
ir iorna óir a innreamh.

33. Carmail re rneacta ar rnige
dat a glaice gléigile ;
[mór] taob Sadba trát [a-troig]
[mór] blát abla dá hagaid.

34. A lán bíor i n-a bruighmid
do mnáib [fleirge] fionnluimnigh ;
dá bantroct ir lán gac linn
ag fnám fa hardport [aoibinn].

35. Béar do mnaoi Dúine Dealgan
gan mnaoi gan fear d'imdeargad ;
các gá fogairm ceann i gceann
forainm go gnát ni goirmeann.

36. Ingean airdrioghdha Dála
ar bancodhnac don bandáil ;
docair tagra re cleit Cuilt
fa bheit d'agra ar a mionailt.

37. Mór an duair do dhligfead finn
d'agáil ón cneirgil cúlfinn ;
luad a laoidhe ir dolad dí
moladh gruadh craoibhe Céire.

38. Ar feadar a fuilt gleannaigh,
ar a gnúis ndeirg ndruichleannaigh,
ar áille ar thruime a taoibh gil,
an laoidh uirre fo [imtigh].

39. Na hairm i n-éinleat tighe
ni bíad ir gríoth Gáirdhe ;
ni bia Saodh ar-tigh re taoibh
ir airm a fir n-a focraoibh.

40. Mearthar re mátair Lugaidh
baincéann cloinne Conchubuir ;
ingean Ailbe ar fearr fa ghnoidh
geall dar Saidhbhe ó na Saidhbhib.

41. Saodh ingean Chatail chorghraigh
iongna ag roinn a cuarardail :
an trát ar thruime a heire
gan cách uirre ag oirbire.

Eire

Translation

1. Heavy the weight of Sadhbh's tresses, her side-hair in bright ringlets, her top-hair shining like bronze, her back-hair fair and yellow and braided.

2. No light weight on her head is the sheaf of lovely soft hair extending in bright heavy layers over this Branch of Mis ; one can not touch her head (the hair being so thick).

3. A line of kneeling maids do the toilet of the fair blue-eyed girl ; her hair is washed for her as she wears a red robe and sits with her back to the maids.

4. Long may Sadhbh have that head of hair like her own gold thread-work, those waving tresses and twisted locks, that covering so wavy and interlaced—great her fame for it !

5. Durlas' Princess grows in riches as she weaves her curly hair ; ever-growing charms awake on Sadhbh's noble face.

6. Whenever at her toilet her tresses are displayed, the ladies of her train feel jealous of that soft-braided hair with its foaming furrows.

7. This daughter of Ó Conchobhair of Cliu, this wife of the Raider of fair Áth Cliath, this Sadhbh of ours—her fair-threaded hair has in it a hundred strands binding it together.

8. When her mass of hair is set loose from her smooth-braided head, her white side can not be seen for it, even her knees can not be seen.

9. The massive curls of this Duck of Liathdruim prevent one from seeing the hair beneath ; every strand in her hair being twisted, the hair underneath can not be distinguished from that above.

10. That long hair twining like honeysuckle means good reward for her maids ; the one fault I see in that hair, so golden beneath and bright on top, is that it is troublesome to undo !

11. Like ripe apples is the hair of the Queen of the Conmhaicne's Land ; the hair thou seest clinging about her head covers it with three-fold layer.

12. When the hair of the Griffin of Gabhrán comes to be washed by her handmaids, and the princess is having it dressed, each maid feels as though she were drinking wine.

13. The hair of Sadhbh, Ráth Bréanainn's Queen, overflows her broad cloak, her tunic is not ample enough (for it) ; this shows more clearly how abundant is her hair.

14. Like the soft hair of Cruacha's Sadhbh was the hair of the lady (Doire ?) of Magh Samh ; a description of its beauty as seen on this fair-haired princess (Sadhbh) is to say it is like (the hair of) Doire.

15. That fair-haired Hero of Loch Léin—like to his hair is the hair of the fair-surfaced, bright-spotted tresses, those long curls on this stately Branch of Midhe (*i.e.*, Sadhbh).

16. An image too of her tufted hair was that of the mother (Úna) of Conn Céadchathach ; she is another Gráinne or Úna except that greater is the beauty in the down of her locks.

17. Noble Sadhbh's hair is like the tresses of Muireann Munchaomh, Fionn's mother, a lady not niggardly about wealth and inferior to none in all the world.

18. Our young curly-haired Sadhbh is like that smooth-handed dark-browed Sadhbh, daughter of Conn (Céadchathach) of Codhal ; very like her was this fair bright serious . . . . (?) girl.

19. Far out from her are the ends of her tresses when held by the ladies of this Princess of Cuala ; when it is in the arms of tiring-maids, it is seen to be faultless.

20. Her father's nobles often say to this Swan of blue Loch Gile : " That burnishing of thy soft hair gives thee a new beauty."

21. The daughter of the high-king Cathal of Carn Bricne—tresses form the curves of her capital letter (*i.e.*, S), many little slow-drawn marks of combing.

22. Her bright golden coiffure shows a fair glen dividing her queenly hair (*i.e.*, the line along which her hair is parted) ; every strand of her curls was beautiful before (being woven) though now they form a heavy mass.

23. I come now to Sadhbh herself and will sing a good song for the Lady of Durlas ; 'twere foolish not to devote an ode to her—for half of this ode has been given to her hair.

24. Not quickly rises the anger of this white-breasted red-cheeked swan, her eyebrow is black as beetle, her eye is as glass ; this Princess of Dola ever holds to justice.

25. The masses of her heavy hair fully cover her beautiful noble bosom ; the spray-like ringlets flow over the breasts of Ailbhe's fair-bosomed daughter.

26. The ornamented girdle with four buckles fits close to her shapely form ; she likes not to have on her bright waist a belt with only one opening.

27. No fault was ever found from her head to her foot in the white-toothed Queen of Durlas ; her generosity is always plain to see, it wins praise ever for the Lady of Béirre.

28. The hair of the shining Lady of Sligeach is as much as her arm can lift ; with white-palmed rosy-tipped hand she builds up the curling foam-like coif.

29. This daughter of Cathal from Midhe's Plain, this Cróichdhearg(?) of the Land of Promise, this famous graceful-handed bright fair girl is the sun of all Éire's women.

30. This blue-eyed queen, wife of O Ruairc of Ráth Guaire—no man can be accounted better than him ; his wife is beyond all the fair women of Éire.

31. The fame of the wife of Aolmhagh's Knight has gone over all Éire ; 'tis praise enough for her (to say) that her great glory is ever increasing.

32. Bright-shining scarlet cloak is made for her and coloured satin garments clothe her ; twisted gold threads adorn the robe of the queen from the Bóinn of the Breagha.

33. Like melting snow is the colour of Sadhbh's bright hand ; tall is her form as she stands up, bright the apple-tree bloom on her face.

34. Many are the ladies of the Princess of fair Luimneach in her castles ; every lake is full of the ladies swimming near her beautiful mansion.

35. 'Tis the way with the Lady of Dún Dealgan never to cause a blush on man or woman ; she addresses them all and never uses a nickname.

36. The daughter of the King of Áth Bláir is leader of all women ; when this Pillar of Colt chides a maid, 'twould be hard to find excuse for the maid against her.

37. Great the reward I should get for my poem from this lady so white of skin and fair of hair ; to write it to the Princess of Céis, to praise her cheeks is a tribute (I owe) her.

38. My poem has treated of her, of the beauty of her furrowed hair, of her blushing sparkling face, of the beauty and fulness of her bright form.

39. Weapons shall not be in the same part of the castle as this Griffin of Gáiridhe ; Sadhbh will not sit beside her husband with his sword near her.

40. This princess of Conchobhair's race may be compared to (Sadhbh) Lughaidh's mother ; our Sadhbh, Ailbhe's daughter, most lavish with steeds, is beyond all Sadhbhs.

41. Sadhbh, daughter of conquering Cathal—'tis wonderful how she shares her wealth ; even when burdens press heaviest on her, no man has fault to find in her.

NOTES

Mag. MS. p. 22.

1*a*. Saiḃi. *b*. eaṁ. ; a ṗu. ṗinḋailġi 2*a*. heḋum *b*. ṗunḋunḋ 3*a*. gl. *b*. -cir 4*d*. in tuiḋ. ; *indist.* 5*a*. *illeg.* *c*. aġnaihaiḃ 6*c*. ca. ; cop. *d*. ban a ḃanḋṫ. 9*d*. carać 10*b*. an (?) 11*a*. aiḃċi 12*a*. heaṁlla 13*a*. -aiḋ ġuiṁ *d*. hanaiḃriċ 14*a*. *dot on* mui. *doubtful*. *b*. raiḋḃi 15*a*. an ṗinḋciaḃać (?). *b*. co. an ṗoilt ṅe ṗoltṙein 16*b*. ṁa. 17*b*. ṁu. mun. 18*a*. ḃa. *b*. meiṁinġ *c*. ḋial ṁi ; Cu., *leg.* gCui. ? ; Ċoġail *d*. *leg.* ṫṁorgaḋaiġ ? 19*a*. baṁ *b*. banḋṫaċt cṁ. *c*. ṗaiceaṁ *d*. anḋuċt 20*a*. Ri *c*. tuilleaḋ *abest* ; taimiġ *written twice*. 21*a*. Ca. Ċai. *b*. a *abest*. *c*. mi. na mall cim 22*a*. ṗuḋuṁl ṗinḋuiḋi ṁbeaṁṁ 23*b*. ṁi mn. nḊuṁṁ. *c*. ṁi ba 24*c*. malu 25*a*. -ġla *b*. -eaḋa *c*. aillḃi 26*a*. cu. ce. ceanmaċ *b*. ṁi *d*. 7 re 27*a*. ġu. *b*. Ḋuṁṁl. *c*. mna, *leg.* ṁná ? *d*. a *abest*. 28*b*. *dot on* mna *doubtful* ; -iḋi *c*. teġḃaiḋ (?) tuiḋnich *c*. *c*. *d*. baṁ 29*a*. Ca. cl. Mi. *b*. ccoġ (u *over* cc, *line over* oġ) ṫi. *c*. ḃan, *leg.* ban ? 31*b*. mna, *leg.* ṁná ? *d*. -uḋuḋ 32*c*. ḃṁ. 33*a*. ṁi *c*. maṁ ṫ. ; ṙa ṫroiḋ *d*. maṁ ḃl. 34*a*. ir na *b*. ṗleiġi *d*. niḃinḋ 35*a*. mnai Ḋui. Dea. *b*. mnai *d*. ġu. 36*b*. -coġnać *c*. ṁi cl. Cui., *leg.* gCui. ? 37*a*. a ḋu. ḋa ḋliḋeaḋ *b*. cn. *c*. a laiġi ir ḋola ḋi *d*. ġaḋ (u *over* ġ). 38*c*. timi (u *over* t). *d*. *indist.* 39*b*. ġaiṁ. *d*. na ṗaċ. 40*a*. luġaiḋ *c*. aillḃi *d*. Saiḋḃi ; -ḃaiḋ 41*a*. Caṫ.

THE FUTURE OF CENTRAL AFRICA

BY EDWARD LEEN, C.S.SP., D.D., D.LITT.

WHILST the war is heaping up ruins in every part of the globe, the experts in the different countries are busy with post-war planning. The protagonists in the titanic struggle are drafting elaborate blue-prints for the reorganisation of the world. The rulers of each of the leading belligerent peoples calmly assume that this task of reorganisation will be theirs to carry out. There is something noteworthy in this. It would seem as if the warring nations were striving not to see the war for what it really is, that is to say, the logical outcome of social, political and economic theories that have been for years moving ever farther and farther away from theories based on the natural order of things. The planners, if one is to judge by the seriousness and confidence with which they address themselves to their self-imposed task, are persuaded—or perhaps are trying to persuade themselves—that the world conflict is an unpleasant, but rightly understood, a rather fortunate happening. For, to their minds, it creates the favourable conditions for the more thorough rationalisation of civilised society. Only for the war this rationalisation would be a much more tardy process and men would be slower in coming to realise its imperative need. To the wise there is something profoundly disquieting in this bland planning for the future. Men can unleash dread forces, but they cannot control the direction of these forces once released. It is not in the power of statesmen or their advisers to arrange the future, for there is no possibility of calculating the final effect of this struggle upon the social fabric, in the weaving of which all the European nations have played their part. In the confusion and war of the ideas which divide the peoples, that fabric will be submitted to intolerable stress and strain : jagged rents are bound to make their appearance ; it may suffer positive disintegration.

But whatever be the form that society may assume as the outcome of the struggle—even if that form be a perverted one—there will, most likely, be found in it certain elements revealing a continuity with the past. Europe will, undoubtedly, retain the hegemony of the world. And European man, even in revolt against his heritage, cannot divest himself totally of what has come down to him from his forbears. In spite of him, his language of defiance or dissent is expressed in concepts of Christian inspiration. The history of the past three or four centuries is a record of the failures of men to create a polity which should secure the common weal of Europe and yet be independent of the beliefs from which sprang the specifically European ethos—that ethos which has exerted an influence

throughout the whole civilised world. System after system, having at first given fair promise and inspired confident hopes, has crumbled into ruins. But still, under the accumulated debris of principalities, monarchies, republics and theories of government, there slumbers the Christian seed. It is buried, but is alive. It flowered once in those beneficent institutions, customs, social organisations and economic practices which came close to giving Christian men an ordered political life. The storms raised by men's malice and by men's errors have swept over and ravaged that fair growth. But the seed buried in the earth is of inexhaustible vitality. It contains within itself the dynamic energy to force its way upward again through the torn soil and cover Europe with forms of political, social and economic life which, whilst differing from the old ones, will be like them in being apt to promote a healthy, well-balanced and sane human existence.

The first faint brairding of that new order is seen in those five principles of international justice and peace that some time since were set forth by his Holiness Pope Pius XII. Amidst the crashing of bombs and the tumult of frenzied passions, the voice of reason may find men unheeding. But, as the prolongation of the struggle brings home to them the wastefulness and futility of it all, the accents of reason will finally force themselves on their attention. The very extravagance of the evil may prove to be the means chosen by Divine Providence to force men to a realisation of the errors which have given it birth. The realisation of error is the beginning of the return to truth. This is not at all unlikely, especially if the war lasts for some years yet. Men need time to learn the lesson of things. The issue of events, of course, may be otherwise. The future is uncertain. But whatever the issue be, one can predict with safety that the new Europe will not prove to be the Europe of the planners and, secondly, that its political form will be a true or false deduction from the experiences of the past. Whether these experiences are interpreted rightly or wrongly, the polity to which men will commit themselves will be the outcome of them. That much is certain amidst the prevailing uncertainty.

But there is one country in regard to which and its people the future is wholly unpredictable. That country is Africa. This is owing to the abnormal situation in which this Continent finds itself as a consequence of the forces that have played on its life for the last century and a half. By Africa is here meant not the whole country from the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope, but such extent of it as is the undisputed home of the black man. This comprehends roughly what lies between the Sahara on the north and Rhodesia in the south. For climatic reasons the white man will scarcely ever be able to make a permanent home in the territories lying between these limits. The northern part of the Continent, including Egypt and Abyssinia, falls under the Mediterranean ambit. The Union of South Africa has become a home for the white

man and presents problems of its own. These problems are becoming year by year more and more acute, because of the struggles of its two million whites to retain dominion over the six million blacks; these latter, who were the original possessors of the soil, have to content themselves with such portions of it as are comprised within the native reserves. These reserves have, for various reasons, become inadequate to meet the economic requirements of the families that dwell in them. The opportunities of political and cultural development open to them are very restricted, because the whites have fears for their own supremacy if the native population should become too advanced in general and technical education. There is, because of this, constant and growing tension.

The district known as Kenya in East Africa reveals a situation not quite so acute but, in many respects, similar. Not so many years ago the lofty plateau, of which Nairobi is the focal point, was found to be not merely a tolerable but an extremely healthy habitat for Europeans. The British, whose sphere of influence embraced, after the war of 1914, not merely the territories formerly known as British East Africa but, in addition, those that had been German East Africa, invited settlers to Kenya. Many British came there for trade and health. The native population was rather sparse and mostly led a nomad life. The lands colonised by the white men were practically unused lands. It was not a case of forcible dispossession. The white community has prospered commercially; but its prospects, in course of time, have come to be menaced by native competition. This threat to their economic well-being impels the colonists along the path of domination. They want to control the administration and make it serve their interests. The country has become their home; to their minds it is now their rightful home. They feel justified in taking such steps as are necessary for economic security, no matter how much this may militate against native progress. The conditions in Kenya are gradually approximating to those of the dominion of South Africa.

But it is with the future of Tropical Africa, the home of the native tribes, that this article is concerned. That future is one of grave uncertainty for historic causes that call for analysis. The numbers and the status of the negroes in the United States are a perpetual reminder of the wrongs that have been done to the black race. For nearly three centuries the forest homes of the black man were ravaged and broken up in the interests of a wicked and callous slave trade. The negro was denied his human rights as a person. The tropical belt on the West Coast of the African Continent was the chief centre of this iniquitous commerce. But the cruelties of the white men on the western seaboard were emulated by those of the Arab slavers who plied almost as extensive a trade on the East Coast. England, because of its interest in the plantations in the New World, greatly profited by this flow of cheap labour that streamed

from the coasts of Africa to the West Indies. The Liverpool merchants derived their wealth from it. The slave trade had become a strong vested interest.

But at length, owing to the fierce agitation stirred up by Wilberforce and other humanitarians, the public conscience was aroused. The unholy trade was abolished in England in 1807. Fortune favoured the humanitarians in their task. A new source of wealth was opening up for Liverpool: the merchants found it easy to be righteous, when the shipping used for slave-carrying could now be diverted to the importing of raw cotton. Thirty-seven years previously the annual supply of this material to Liverpool totalled only 6,043 bags. In the year of Wilberforce's triumph the supply came to 172,638 bags. The cotton factories began to function and to multiply. The merchants did not allow their consciences to be disturbed by the reflection that the cheapness of the raw materials for the mills was due to the fact that the plantations in the Southern States of America were worked by negro slaves who had been and were still being torn from their native Africa.

A two-way trade developed with the States. The ships went out with the manufactured cotton fabrics and returned with agricultural produce. England, becoming rapidly industrialised, willed to look abroad for the satisfaction of its agricultural needs. The machine age had set in. The machines needed oil. The supply of animal fats began to fall short of the growing requirements. This set the merchants thinking, and their thoughts again reverted to Tropical Africa. A certain amount of capital had been sunk there and a vast fund of mercantile experience had been acquired during preceding decades. Why let that capital be utterly lost, and why let that experience go unused? Central Africa was one vast palm belt. The palms were rich in fruit. Vegetable oils could replace animal fats for the feeding of the machines. The population of England was rapidly growing because of its industrialisation. The atmosphere of the great industrial towns was charged with soot and coal dust. Soap and large quantities of it became an imperative need. African palms could supply in abundance the raw material for the manufacture of soap; they could also solve the problem of lighting for the poor by furnishing the materials for candle-making. Later it was discovered that from palm kernels could be made a very high-grade margarine.

The forests of Central Africa, with no aid except that of nature, teemed with immense wealth. What wheat is for Canada or the Ukraine, that the palm tree was for Central Africa. British ships ploughed their way once more to the West Coast, but now to engage in "honourable and legitimate trade." The palm oil traffic began. Hitherto there had been a certain amount of commerce in ivory, gold dust, furniture wood, and gum opal. Its volume had been insignificant; it was now

negligible. Palm oil became the all-important concern for British and European merchants. It remained so even when it came to be later reinforced by dealings in other commodities. Ground nuts were, towards the end of the 19th century, extensively cultivated for their valuable oil content. Still later, in the first decades of the present century, there developed a large trade in cocoa, coffee, cotton, benninseed, and ginger. At the outbreak of the war British West Africa yielded half of the total supply of cocoa for the world. But yet it is the palm oil trade that exercised the greatest influence on the destinies of Central Africa and had the chief part in determining its fortunes or its misfortunes. It grew in volume slowly but steadily between the year 1806 and the year 1900. About the twenties the exports averaged a value of £150,000; by the end of the century they had more than decupled. Many hard things have been said about the trade. To some the " palm-oil ruffians " were not unworthy successors to the old slave traders. But this is unjust. On the whole the traders dealt fairly with the natives. They gave an equivalent that was satisfactory to the black man for what the black man brought into the river stations. The traders lived in primitive conditions, in a rude and unhealthy climate, and had to rely on their own resources to protect their lives and their property. They are not to be judged too hardly, if they deemed their work was not to civilise Africa but to do business with the Africans on the best terms they could. A trader does not consider himself as a pioneer of civilisation in undeveloped countries; he may consider himself, but is not considered by everybody, a pillar of civilisation in developed countries.

In the early decades of the last century the commerce in palm oil was much hampered by the illegal activities of the slavers who still plied their nefarious trade. The British merchants, in 1817, protested that " the slave-trade was incompatible with and destructive of the legitimate trade of Africa." For reasons that were humanitarian, they urged the Government to employ the fleet in supressing the evil. The Government acceded to their request. Her Majesty's ships patrolled the Atlantic seaboard and hunted down the traffickers. It was found not to be enough. All efforts would prove ineffective unless political authority was established on the disorderly coast. Henceforth the " economic " and the " political " frontiers began to draw close together. Final coincidence was the outcome of a process which was slow and gradual—and, in the main, unplanned.

About 1900 Equatorial Africa was partitioned out amongst the European States. Lines drawn on the map marked out the spheres of influence of the different powers. Britain, France, Germany, Belgium and Portugal assumed responsibility for the well-being of the various African tribes. That responsibility took diverse forms. There were colonies, protectorates and mandated territories. The juridical theories

with which the civilising states approached their tasks differed somewhat, but in practice the administration in each tended towards a common pattern. The British management of its African possessions may be taken as typical of the rest. At any rate the good effects—and the effects not so good—that followed for the natives from this paternal control were in all Tropical Africa similar.

The Imperial Government in London was at first, and indeed for a long time, reluctant to assume administrative responsibility for Equatorial Africa. It was the logic of events that forced it into its present position. To protect its merchants and to facilitate expansion of trade, it had to police the coast to some extent. Crown Colony rule was set up in Sierra Leone in 1808. In 1849 a Consul was established for the Bights of Benin and Biafra. Lagos received a colonial administration in 1861. But the British Government made no effort to extend its political influence into the interior of the Continent. That work it committed to the activities of the trading companies. They served it well. With indomitable energy they pushed their way into the heart of Africa. They set up their stations along the rivers and established contacts with the native markets. Under the direction of Sir George Goldie, who came to the Coast in 1870, they took on themselves to establish by force that peace and order without which the streams of trade could not flow freely. The expense involved in the protection of the frontiers they set up was willingly borne by these chartered companies. The costs were heavy, and they were greatly increased by the expenditure incurred in the maintenance of large and competent staffs in a climate that heavily taxed European constitutions. Remuneration had to be proportionally high and holidays in the homeland had to be frequent. The financial burden was also increased by the primitive methods of production and commerce of the natives. There was only one way in which these overhead charges could be successfully met and a reasonable turnover assured. The companies should amalgamate and secure a monopoly of the sources of supply. The amalgamation took place. The Royal Niger Company was granted its charter in 1885, and in the course of fifteen years it created a valuable British province with the Niger as its spinal column.

The demand of this Company for monopoly was, however, met by a firm refusal. Free trade was made one of the conditions of its charter. The Company, as an alternative, asked for large concessions of territory which, under European management and by scientific methods of cultivation, would guarantee a regular and copious supply of raw material for export. This too had to be refused, because the British juridical theory did not allow the Imperial Government to claim overlordship rights in the protected territories. The French and Belgian legal systems differed from the British in this. The Niger Company, thwarted in its efforts to secure the monopoly of trade on the river, had to contend against the

competition of Liverpool merchants who were eager to capture some of the wealth that the palm trees of Africa were producing. These individual traders profited by the pacification of the country secured and maintained by the Chartered Company at its own expense. The competition bred disorder, as the new competitors in the field could undersell the Company and entice the native traders to their own stores. About the year 1900 the disorder became serious and led to riots. The Government was at last obliged to intervene and take full responsibility for defence and administration. Rule by Chartered Company had broken down.

Lord Lugard ushered in the new era and began the system known as " indirect rule." He was appointed to Northern Nigeria in the year 1900. His plan for the administration of the Colony became the type for British rule through all the dependencies of Equatorial Africa. The plan was sufficiently flexible to admit of unessential modifications adapted to local conditions.

The fundamental principle in Lugard's theory of " indirect rule " is that the land was the exclusive possession of the native tribes and their chiefs, and could not be alienated without their consent. Tribal law and custom were to regulate the way of life of the people. The decisions of the native courts were to be binding. The chiefs were to direct the division of tribal lands and their tenure according to immemorial usage. Only those practices and customs which militated against peaceful commerce or outraged the conscience of civilised men, were prohibited. The native religion was not interfered with unless in rites, such as human sacrifice and cannibalism, that could not be tolerated. Under the tutelage of the British political officers, the natives were gradually to shed their own crude and narrow notions of social life and to advance step by step to more perfect political and economic forms.

To present the natives with a working model in miniature of civilised political organisation and also to establish peace and order throughout the protected territories, the British divided up the country under their trusteeship into political divisions called districts. These districts were grouped in their turn into Residencies. District Officers controlled the districts. The " Resident " was the higher officer. In their work of maintaining law and order, these servants of the Colonial Government were aided by a police force raised from amongst the natives and officered by native men who had education and ability above the average. A white man held chief command under the title of Commissioner. The political officers set up and presided over courts in which judgements were delivered according to British law. The natives were entitled to have recourse to these courts. Prisons were maintained for the refractory. At the head of the administration was a Governor, aided by an executive and advised by a legislative council.

Duties on imports and exports, with, in addition, a certain amount of

direct taxation, furnished the revenue to pay the expenses of administration and of the maintenance of peace. The surplus money, after this provision had been made, was spent on public services. A few primary schools were erected and a training college for native teachers was established. A department for agricultural research and development was opened. Hospitals were set up in the principal administrative centres. These were staffed by European doctors and nurses, who were aided by native assistants. Opportunities were given to native girls and boys to obtain nursing certificates and to acquire some skill in treating, on their own initiative, the ordinary maladies peculiar to the country. On the tribal chiefs, under the advice and direction of the British officials, devolved the task of making roads, constructing bridges over creeks and swamps, and opening up paths connecting the village markets with the main arteries of communication. This greatly facilitated the flow of commerce between these and the European trading stores. The whole system was planned to educate the inhabitants of the country to be, in the process of time, a self-governing society. Trusteeship by the British, until this objective should be achieved, was the principle. The purpose carried out was the pacification and opening up of the vast hinterlands, in order that they might be drawn more and more thoroughly into the commercial and industrial system of Europe.

There are many who would say that the outcome of this policy of indirect rule has been the exploitation of the natives. A rather severe stricture on Colonial Government in Africa was made in the *New Statesman* of April of this year. The administration is accused of making but little effort to raise the status of the native African and of being content to leave him in his backward state at the mercy of the capitalist system which has forced itself on the native economy. To one intimately acquainted with the conditions in which the Colonial administration functions this judgement of its work would appear not only harsh but unjust ; neither does it take any account of the considerable benefits that have accrued to the natives since Imperial Government took over from the Chartered Companies.

Life was very precarious in Tropical Africa fifty years ago. The country was in the grip of a debasing and criminal " ju-ju " worship. The sorcerers and witch-doctors plied their nefarious trade undisturbed ; they dealt freely with the lives and possessions of the unfortunates who were selected to play the part of victim in their obscene and sanguinary rites. Cannibalism was common. The native passed his days in fear, for he was made to believe that he was at all times under the observation of malignant unseen powers. The witch-doctor alone had an understanding with these spirits of evil. It is easy to see how this superstition gave scope for unmeasured extortion. The political officers, served by an efficient police force raised locally and therefore acquainted with the

native customs, have waged a relentless and successful war against the poisonings and sacrificial murders that were everywhere rife. The evil has not yet been wholly stamped out. Quite recently in a native school conducted by Irish nuns a little African girl, on being asked by a companion if her grandfather's funeral had yet taken place, was heard to reply that it had not, because so far a sufficient number of " heads " had not been forthcoming ! He was an important personage and his funeral rites could be fittingly celebrated only by the death of several slaves. Owing to the absence of any regular lines of communication travelling was attended by great danger. A person venturing incautiously and unaccompanied outside the limits of his own clan was very likely to be set upon, and either killed on the spot or reserved for the fate hinted at by the little African girl.

Hygiene was unknown to the indigenous Africans. They did not hesitate to use tainted water for household purposes. This water was often left to stagnate in broken gourds in their compounds. Malarial mosquitoes bred plentifully in such conditions. Through their complete ignorance of causes of infection the natives were a prey to a great number of diseases, especially skin diseases. The general health and stamina were extremely low. The mortality amongst infants was of appalling proportions. Unskilled treatment by witch doctors was a cause of high death-rate amongst women in child-birth. As is known, twins, for superstitious reasons, were never allowed to survive. Abandonment of infants, suspected for some reason to be under the disfavour of the spirits, was common. Those who dream of the native African leading a noble, healthy and care-free life in his native forests before the advent of the European, have an utterly false mental picture of the forbidding reality. The palm forests, wrapped in an atmosphere of superstition, disease and death, were the scenes of hideous and ghastly rites. Central Africa was a land of horror and fear.

All that has been changed. Now the native can live in comparative security and is assured of a fairly normal length of life ; the power of the " ju-ju " practitioner is almost completely broken. Education in the schools is extending its influence far beyond their immediate neighbourhood. The opening up of communications and the building of roads has facilitated travel and made it secure. Remote places are brought in contact with those where schools function. The educated man is looked up to, and under his adverse comment the old evil superstitions begin to wither away. The narrow clan mentality, according to which every man outside one's own communal boundaries was regarded as an enemy and a lawful prey if he could be waylaid, has disappeared. It is yielding to the tribal sense ; and that, in its turn, is passing over gradually into the idea of a people bound together by ties of kinship and common interests. The African is growing in self-consciousness. This growth is aided by

a recent development. Co-operation amongst the native growers trading with the European companies is encouraged by the Government and is acquiring considerable proportions. Co-operative marketing and co-operative production are an admirable instrument for the education of the native in the ways of modern life. Through co-operative practice he acquires initiative and an economic sense.

The Government has not been false to its trusteeship in its care of the tribal lands. Disclaiming any right itself to grant concessions, it has put a check upon the tendencies of the local chiefs to alienate portions of the territories committed to their guardianship. The bait of money tempted these men, in many cases, to sell part of their " stool " lands to Europeans eager to exploit them for trade. These " stool " lands are stretches of land within the tribal boundaries, destined for future use but not actually under cultivation. The administration has put restrictions on the powers of the chiefs in this matter and has thus protected the tribesman against the malpractices of their natural guardians. It has to intervene in a like manner to prevent the disafforestation which was going on apace. The improvident native did not realise the great harm which would eventually come from stripping the country of its trees. Soil erosion was assuming alarming dimensions. This too has been checked by forcibly imposing forest reservations and by the planting of shelter belts.

The department of agriculture has, with limited resources and a limited staff, given itself for some years to the study of soil and climate in order to explore the possibilities of growing other crops than those the natives habitually cultivated. Food production of greater variety has been their preoccupation. It cannot be denied that trade, education, health, transport, as well as security of life and property, have made quite considerable progress in Central Africa during the past forty years or so. But the greatest benefit the Colonial Government has conferred on the equatorial territories under its control has been the extensive opening-up of communications and the improvement of transport, though the chief good effect of this was not envisaged by the administration itself. The roads, paths and bridges have incalculably facilitated the work of the Christian missionary. It has greatly increased his efficiency. It is not an exaggeration to say that the missionary of to-day can, with the same output of effort, accomplish at least twenty times as much work as his predecessor of fifty years ago. And the most potent influence in uplifting native African life and guiding it towards the goal of enlightened self-government is the influence of the missionary. This truth, however, is not recognised in government reports and surveys. The material advantages of modern civilisation, social services on the model of the home country, development of industries and a wealth-producing economy—these are the contributing factors to an African polity as desired by the

drafters of government reports and the writers on African welfare—and not the civilizing work of the missionary.

So much on the credit side for the administration. Its critics can point to a large debit account on the opposite side of the ledger. The Colonial Government is blamed severely for the gravity of the debt. The items of this debt are general illiteracy, poor medical services, neglect of social services, inadequate measures to prevent soil erosion, and failure to raise the standard of living of the natives. The territories under trusteeship present, they say, a lamentable spectacle of ignorance, disease, and malnutrition.

As things are, it is quite true that but a comparatively small number of natives have received the benefits of even an elementary education. But those who bewail this commit the error of identifying education with literacy. It is not of much advantage to the African to learn to read, if the reading to which he has access is not helpful to him in his life. The lore of the forests is much more formative than a schooling not very clearly defined as to its objective. It would be difficult to trace any unified or sound view of the purpose of human existence in the educational code regulating the native schools. The schools have a certain utility. They equip a number of intelligent black boys with the necessary qualifications to take up salaried posts in the political and commercial services. It is the lure of such positions that attracts children to the schools founded by the government and by the missionary societies. It is not the appeal of education as such.

Those who attribute the illiteracy of Central Africa to the administrative neglect, must be blind to the average African indifference to education on the European model. The adult native who is wedded to his own way of life and is not attracted to the white man's existence, has no desire for book learning. The women especially are apathetic in this matter. The government cannot be said to be depriving the African of what the African himself does not want. The one thing by which those not commercially-minded could be attracted to school, is religion. The peasants are quite ready to send their children to school to learn catechism when it is the principal subject on the curriculum. From the young pupils, on their return home, the parents are eager to gather the information imparted by the teacher. The knowledge of the faith reaches large numbers in this way. That religion can be a more powerful incentive to education than material considerations is shown by the following incident. A missionary nun had a large gathering of native adult women for evening catechetical class. The memories of these people are as a rule excellent and they learn the words of the text easily. They are intent to acquire their knowledge orally. One day the Sister decided to vary the instructions by reading a life of the Saviour written in the native language. The women listened with rapt attention. They became

so interested in the story that they besought the nun to teach them to read, so that they could themselves master the contents of the book.

General literacy in itself is more than a dubious advantage; but there is no doubt however of the extreme importance of health. The medical service in the colonies is grossly inadequate and clamours insistently for extension. It was the government's policy that the social services should be paid for out of local revenue. The sum thus available allowed the building and equipment of only a few hospitals and the maintenance of limited staffs. Little provision could be made for treatment and dispensing in the localities at a distance from the chief centres. Medical assistance was provided only for a small fraction of the total population.

Want of funds, too, greatly hampered the activities of the Department of Agriculture and put great difficulties in the way of research work. Much could and should have been done in this matter. The natives have a very poor dietary. Yams, cassava, rice, dried fish are the ordinary food stuffs, and all these are not obtainable in all parts. Their nourishment is very lacking in proteins. The prevalence of the tsetse fly over wide areas makes it impossible to keep cows or horses. Milk and butter are unknown in these infested areas. Remedies for this condition of things could have been applied long since were funds available from the Imperial Exchequer. As it is, some progress has been made in recent years. By scientific measures a breed of cattle has been raised which is immune against the tsetse fly, and the pest itself is beginning to be dealt with successfully. Experiments too have been made with mixed farming, and the natives are being taught to grow a greater variety of food crops for human consumption. The planting of wheat, for instance, in Northern Nigeria has proved successful. Cows are being kept in the same territory, and milk and butter are making their appearance in the native markets. Through improved communications flour and meat are now being made available for the Southern Provinces to supplement the ordinary fare. The provision of a healthy and richer diet is found to be within the resources of the native lands if they are treated scientifically. It is in the sphere of agriculture that the government could work the most beneficent revolution for the welfare of the Africans. But much time is needed for all these improvements in hygiene, education, internal economy, and agriculture. It must not be forgotten that the organised social life of Europe has been the outcome of many centuries of experiment and adaptation. The government of Colonial Africa cannot be blamed for being unable to create in half a century a state of things which it would normally take some hundred years to bring about.

In one respect, however, there has been an imposing progress during the past half century. Export trade has made great strides. A few excerpts from the trade table reveal this. The value of the tin ore exported from Nigeria in 1911 was £182,000; the value in 1929 was £2,299,000.

The palm oil export in 1911 was 79,000 tons; in 1929 it totalled 132,000 tons. Cocoa to the value of £105,000 was shipped in 1911; in 1929 the value had risen to £230,630. During the same period the mining of diamonds, manganese ore and iron ore was developed in the Gold Coast and attained considerable proportions. In the same area the production of gold and gold dust continued practically at the same level over the whole period. But the cocoa industry surpassed all other commodities as a source of income. The weight shipped in 1911 was 39,750 tons; in 1929 it rose to 238,050 tons. During the same period a considerable trade in rice was developed in Sierra Leone. The cultivation of ground nuts in Gambia and in Nigeria during these years of expansion proved a very valuable enterprise and brought much wealth to native farmers. Through the marked industrial progress of all these territories since the government took over the administration, there has been a great flow of money into the country and native Africa has been swept into the current of international commerce. Things seemed to prosper exceedingly, but the prosperity was but apparent. The development of commerce did far more harm than good to the native populations.

Under the sudden impact of this industrialism the tribal system suffered a rude shock. The security offered to the individual by tribal organisation was sacrificed to progress. The bait of money and the European commodities which it provided, drew great numbers from their homes and their own normal way of life. Multitudes became detribalised, gathering in the mining districts and in the towns that were centres of the new industries. They were housed in miserable shelters. Their nourishment was poor, their health suffered. In the native villages subsistence-farming yielded place to farming for profit. A good deal of the land that had been used for producing food for the tribesmen was now tilled for export crops. The evil of credit made its appearance. With industrialism came debts and poverty. In the old days poverty had been practically unknown. Owing to the native way of dealing with the land, deterioration of soil was very slight. Each year such a portion was tilled as sufficed for the needs of the families to whom the land belonged, each family owning its own allotment. What was cultivated one year was allowed to remain fallow for two or three years and again became covered with the thick growth of bush that, when burned, yielded a fertilising ash deposit. Cash cropping came to interfere with this system, and with it a consequent decline in the fertility of the soil resulted. The money gained by trading enables the native to purchase gramophones, radio sets, bicycles, motor cycles and other conveniences of the kind. These the black men could easily do without. They are no compensation for the unrest, the poverty, the bad housing, the ill-health, the decline of native farming and the decay of the native arts and crafts that have followed in the wake of industrialism.

The future is sombre unless a halt is called to this so-called 'progress'

and unless the benefits of civilization are to be bestowed on the African within the framework of his own tribal life. A return must be made to farming, which should have as its primary purpose to provide an ample supply of food for the tribesmen. The food supply should be abundant and varied in the interests of the health of the population.

Money must not be spared in the conflict with disease. When the body is ill-nourished and sickly, the mind lacks energy to pursue the path of improvement. In an ordinance of February 1900, the Imperial Government has recognised its responsibility to promote Colonial welfare at the expense of the imperial exchequer. On nothing could the money be more profitably spent than on the extension of the medical services through all Central Africa. There is an urgent need for an army of doctors. Some of them would have charge of the hospitals and could organise clinics to train native assistants to carry elementary notions of hygiene and care of the sick into the remote villages. Other medical men should have funds and leisure to pursue investigation into the nature of tropical diseases and their remedies.

Ireland might be reasonably expected to play its part in all this. The welfare of Africa can be but very imperfectly achieved by the well-meaning efforts of the governments that have partitioned its territories. That welfare will depend mainly on the supply of missionaries, both priests and doctors, that Europe can supply after the war. It is to Ireland, chiefly, that British Equatorial Africa must look for the benefits of a true civilisation. The missionary is the real civilising force. In the enjoyment of statehood, we Irish should have the consciousness of having something to impart to other peoples, especially those in most need. We should feel, moreover, the urge to communicate what there is of value in us as a people. Irish priests are in considerable numbers obeying this urge. Why should not those young Irish medical men, who each year, after having qualified, find themselves without occupation, feel a responsibility for suffering humanity in Africa? Why should they not, in a spirit partly of prudent self-interest, partly of Christian altruism devote a number of years to creating those health conditions that Africa so sorely needs to make progress to a proper standard of living?

E. Leen

AQUINAS VERSUS MARX

BY PROFESSOR ALFRED O'RAHILLY

I. Use-Value

FOLLOWING Aristotle, both Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas assert that need (*chreia, indigentia*) is the measure of all things.[1] By this they do not mean to maintain anything anticipative of modern utility-theories of value; for this would be quite inconsistent with the other principles of the Schoolmen. They are enunciating not a theory of value, but the presupposition of any theory: what is common to all commodities is their capacity to satisfy human needs, their utility. In other words, at the very start they laid down a general ethical judgement; they would not admit that there is any economic isolate, even value. What makes for the cultural destiny of man creates true value; pseudo-work creates pseudo-value. There is an objective utility in things: conformity with order, the condition and limit for true work and therefore for the formation of true value. The economist does not think so :—

> For the economist everything is useful which is wanted—whether the want is worthy or reprehensible, and whether the thing is wanted for its own sake or as a means to some further end. The fact that people are prepared to acquire and consume things is the sufficient and necessary proof of their having in the economic sense utility.—Fraser, *Economic Thought and Language*, 1937, p. 77.

So far are economists from regarding as useful only those things which are rationally required, that they have generally come to define utility " not as the quality of being desired (or of yielding satisfactions) but as the quality of inducing purchase " (Fraser, p. 89). Consistently with this view, economists should be quite indifferent to the fact that a large part of modern economic activity is useless, superfluous, even harmful: advertising, the creation of new artificial wants, waste, quantity at the expense of quality.

The theologian-economists who advocated charity and justice, who denounced avarice and intemperance, who regarded this life as a probation for the next, could not thus canonise buying and selling. When they spoke of needs they did not mean to include indiscriminately all kinds of desires, every vagary of vanity or selfishness. The idea of *needing* involves some inherent requirement of human nature, whether biological

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[1] Aristotle, *Nic. Ethics* v. 5 (8), 1133 *a* 25; Albertus, *Ethic.* v. 2, 10; Thomas, *Ethic.* v. 9. Buridan († circa 1372) adds: " Value is measured not by the need of this or that man, but by the need of the aggregate of those who can exchange with one another."—*Ethic.* 5, q. 16.

or psychological, social or cultural ; something objectively and increasingly ascertainable—though not of course with mathematical precision—in the light of commonsense science and of a coherent philosophy. As to the fundamental needs—food, clothing, health, education, rest, etc.—there is a large measure of uniformity in time and place. The Scholastics regard the production of goods and services as destined for the satisfaction of such ethically commendable needs.[1]

This attitude involves three general consequences. (1) There is a gradation in human needs in accordance with which goods may be divided into, say, (*a*) necessities required for life, (*b*) amenities required for social status and functional efficiency, (*c*) superfluities (amusements, luxuries, etc.) This division—which is to be found in all the Schoolmen—implies that economic wealth is merely a means for satisfying men's fundamental needs which are strictly limited and after that must be subordinated to man's cultural requirements. Though it sounds commonplace, this view is really a repudiation of the modern materialistic ideal which is based on the maximisation of production and the endless creation of artificial needs. " The appetite for natural riches is not infinite," says St. Thomas,[2] " for a certain measure of them satisfies nature. But the appetite for artificial riches is infinite since it ministers to inordinate concupiscence." We who, as in this country, believe in nationalism and self-sufficiency as necessary for cultural independence and for freedom to live our own ideals, must make up our minds to accept this philosophy or to abandon this ideal. It is to be feared that we do not sufficiently realise that patriotism must be paid for, that our professed national and social principles are incompatible with modern industrialism which is founded on international trade, on the proletarisation of the workers to serve the rich, on the glorification of artificial needs requiring a complication of gadgets and superfluities. We must, in other words, cultivate what St. Thomas calls moderateness as regards exterior things :—

> In all things which are means to an end, goodness consists in a certain measure . . . . Now exterior goods have the status of being useful towards an end . . . . Hence what is good for man as regards these must consist in a certain measure, by his seeking exterior riches in a certain measure, in so far as they are necessary for life according to his condition . . . .
>
> There are two ways in which avarice can imply immoderateness concerning exterior things. (1) Immediately, as regards their acquirement and retention, *i.e.* in undue measure. This is directly a sin against one's neighbour ; for one man cannot have a superabundance of exterior riches unless another is deficient in them, since temporal goods cannot be simultaneously possessed by many. (2) It may imply immoderateness in a man's interior attitude to riches . . . . This kind of avarice is a sin against oneself.—St. Thomas, *Summa* 2.2, q. 118, a.1.

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[1] The following paragraphs give a very summarised view, as it would take me too far afield to give many quotations or to treat the subject in detail. I may refer to my article " S. Thomas's Theory of Property " in *Studies*, Sept. 1920, pp. 337-354.

[2] *Summa* 1.2, q. 2, a.1, ad 3.

This does not imply that the Thomist system is purely static and stratified or—as Weber and others have contended—that poverty is valued in itself by Catholic sociologists.[1] For we see that St. Thomas condemns excessive wealth on two grounds: (*a*) in so far as it causes social injustice and is not used for the common good, (*b*) when it leads to a false valuation of life.

(2) There is a hierarchical finalism in nature; exterior goods are destined for human appropriation to aid man to attain his development and end. Man is an autonomous person; he is absorbed neither by humanity nor by the race nor by the State. Moreover he is essentially a social being, the primary social institution being the family, after which come his profession, his town, his political community. He has therefore a natural right to a sufficiency to support himself and his family and to enable him to work efficiently. This right is metaphysical, though normally it is conjoined with a correlative obligation to work. But when neither work nor assistance in the absence of work suffices to procure necessaries for a man, then his right to life takes precedence of the rich man's superabundance. For the right to superabundance, and therefore inequality, is based only on general utility; it is a right which is utilitarian, empirical, historical. According to St. Thomas[2] "the things which some have in superabundance are by natural law due to the poor for their support." Or to quote some modern authors:—

The Gospel has laid down this new principle. . . . No one has a right to the fruits of his own domain except according to the measure of his legitimate needs.—Lacordaire, *Conférences* 2 (1845) 321.

My own superfluities, whatever is over and above my own needs and the proper decency of my life, I can really no longer consider as my own at all; they are the common property of all my fellows.—B. Jarrett O.P., *Meditations for Layfolk*, 1915, p. 129.

Only the proprietorship of what is sufficient is an absolute right. The proprietorship of what is superabundant is only a management on behalf of others, a purely fiduciary property, a stewardship.—Renard in Renard and Trotabas, *La fonction sociale de la propriété privée*, 1930, p. 18.

(3) The State, acting for the common good, has the right and the duty to prevent injustice and excessive inequality and to provide for all the citizens. From which we deduce the necessity for planning and co-ordinating production either directly by the State or through vocational bodies such as were the medieval gilds.

The Philosopher says that the regulation of possessions conduces much to the preservation of the State or nation. Consequently, as he himself observes, it was forbidden by the law in some of the heathen States that anyone should sell his possess-

[1] "Both superabundance of riches and beggary are to be avoided by those who wish to live according to virtue, in so far as they are occasions of sin."—S. Thomas, *Summa* 3, q. 40, a. 3, ad 1. "Poverty is not good in itself, but only in so far as it frees man from what impedes his attention to spiritual things."—S. Thomas, *Contra gentiles* iii, 133.

[2] *Summa*, 2.2, q. 66, a. 7.

ions except to avoid a manifest loss. For if possessions were to be sold indiscriminately, they might happen to come into the hands of a few; so that it might become necessary for a State or a country to become void of inhabitants.—Thomas, *Summa*, 1.2, q. 105, a.2. From which Cajetan in his commentary deduces the advisability of ordaining "that neither a church nor anyone else should own beyond a certain amount of land."

Provision must be made that each one is supplied with necessaries according to his condition and state . . . . It is required that, through the government's industry, there should be a sufficient supply of necessaries for suitable living.—Thomas, *De regimine principum* i. 13 and 15.

II Exchange

It is in connection with an obscure passage in Aristotle[1] that Albert and Thomas give the first sketch of a theory of value which "remained supreme throughout the Scholastic period."[2] Aristotle, in one of the first mistaken applications of mathematics to economics, deals with *A* a builder who exchanges a house (*a*) for a number of pairs of shoes (*b*) made by *B* a shoemaker. Aristotle says that commercial justice requires that

$$\frac{A+b}{B+a} = \frac{A}{B}$$

Whence he infers that

$$\frac{A}{B} = \frac{b}{a}$$

Then, according to Greek geometers, *A* and *a*, *B* and *b*, are said to have reciprocal proportionality (*antipeponthos*, *contrapassum*). From this unpromising bit of pseudo-mathematics Albert and Thomas became pioneers in deducing the "labour and cost" theory of value :—

That there may be a just exchange, so many shoes must be given for a house or for the food of one man, as the builder or farmer exceeds the shoemaker *in labour and expenses* . . . . That so many shoes are given for one house implies that in some sense the shoes are *equal* to the house.—Thomas, *Ethic.* v. 9.

That is, objects are equal in value, and accordingly their exchange is just, if their production represents equal amounts of work and cost. There is not a trace of this view in Aristotle—how indeed could there be? Such a view is really based on the Christian ennoblement of labour; and

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[1] Nic. Ethics v. 5, 1133 *a* 14. Aristotle uses *poiein* and *paschein* as applying to the act of exchange. But S. Thomas in his commentary takes the terms as referring to the production of goods and the receipt of their equivalent. He is clearly thinking of the craft-gilds of his time as the *technai* or *artes* of his text. Curiously enough both Grant and Jackson agree with Aquinas in this fortunate but unhistorical interpretation. Cf. H. Jackson, *The Fifth Book of the Nicomachean Ethics*, 1879, p. 97.

[2] Kaulla, *Theory of the Just Price*, 1940, p. 38.

the two Dominicans were rationalising the practice of the craft-gilds of their time rather than interpreting their pagan predecessor; they were applying the general social principles which have been summarised above. The view can be summed up in the words of a later writer:—

> Such a small price might be put on things that those who make them as do craftsmen, or those who produce them as do farmers, or those who transport them as do merchants, could not support themselves decently by their work. Similarly such an excessive price might be imposed that ordinary poor men, on whose labours all must live, could not obtain the necessaries of life for themselves . . . . Let him consider for how much he must sell his goods in order to continue his state and to support himself competently in it; and having thus reasonably estimated his expenses and labour, let him measure the price of his products.—Henry of Langenstein (†1397), *De contractibus*, p.I. c.II and 12.

There is no contradiction between this view and the previous assertion of the primacy of human needs. According to St. Thomas, the idea of utility dominates that of work in the conception of value. Things have value and exchangeability not because they are the result of labour but because they contain a desirable utility, they satisfy a legitimate need. It is because of this that work is applied to produce goods; they are produced because they are valuable, they are not valuable merely because they are produced; and there are natural objects which are valuable though they require little or no human collaboration.

But when we come to consider what is called exchange-value, we are dealing with an entirely different concept. We assume at the start that both *a* and *b* (two types of commodities or services) have value in the sense of usefulness for human life. We then ask how much of *b* is equivalent to, or justly exchangeable with, how much of *a*. Then the "value" of that amount of *a* is so much of *b*, so much of *c*, and so on; which we can compendiously express as so much money or purchasing-power.[1] Use-value is the end of production as a physical or objective process (*finis operis*), whatever be the intention of the producer (*finis operantis*); whereas exchange-value is the means of social distribution of the product. This "rationing" or system of exchange-ratios is, according to St. Thomas, to be based on the equivalence of "labour and expenses."

Before we proceed to develop this idea, there is an objection to be met:—

> As to the texts from the *Summa* of St. Thomas, they are too fragmentary for us to consider them as a complete exposition of the determinants of a just price. All one can safely say is that he allows for utility and for certain outgoings on the part of the seller, as well as for any special sacrifice in parting with an article to which he is specially attached.—L. Watt, S.J., in *The Just Price*, ed. Demant, 1930, p. 61.

[1] Of course there are commodities—such as air, sunlight, water—which in spite of their utility-value, ordinarily have no exchange-value; *i.e.*, being plentiful, they need not be rationed. But if water has to be accumulated and piped, then we must pay those who perform the function.

This halting attitude, with its exaggeration of trifles connected with the disposal of superfluities, seems to me to be quite unjustified. St. Thomas never professed to give a complete picture of the life of his time; we must look outside his books into the accepted principles (exemplified in the towns and gilds) which he had no occasion to discuss. And though he did not deal extensively with exchange—and then largely from the individual standpoint of the confessional—he clearly enunciated pertinent social principles which, in spite of many gaps and misunderstandings, can be traced in growing consistency and clarity down the years from the *Summa* (1267-72) of Aquinas to the *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931) of Pius XI.

III The Functional View of Exchange-Value

The view expressed by the Schoolmen and largely embodied in gilds and assizes may be called the functional theory of value. For it is based on the principle that those who serve society have a right to a competent living. The ideal of a functional society thus adumbrated may be described in the words of a modern writer :—

> A society which aimed at making the acquisition of wealth contingent upon the discharge of social obligations, which sought to proportion remuneration to service and denied it to those by whom no service was performed, which inquired first not what men possess but what they can make or create or achieve, might be called a Functional Society, because in such a society the main subject of social emphasis would be the performance of social functions. But such a society does not exist even as a remote ideal in the modern world, though something like it has hung, an unrealised theory, before men's minds in the past. Modern societies aim at protecting economic rights, while leaving economic functions except in moments of abnormal emergency to fulfil themselves . . . . Such societies may be called Acquisitive Societies, because their whole tendency and interest and preoccupation is to promote the acquisition of wealth . . . . The secret of its triumph is obvious. It is an invitation to men to use the powers with which they have been endowed—by nature or society, by skill or energy or relentless egotism or mere good fortune—without inquiring whether there is any principle by which their exercise should be limited . . . . [It is] the enchanting vision of infinite expansion.—Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society*, 1921, p. 31f.

This quotation expresses the medieval ideal, however deficient the practice. (The latter part reminds us of St. Thomas's assertion that the appetite for artificial riches is infinite). " Whoever," says St. Thomas,[1] " has no other means of living is bound to work with his hands, whatever be his condition." " By work with one's hands," he continues, " must be understood every operation by which one can licitly earn one's food." Speaking of the civil law against begging, he says [2] that " the law speaks of healthy beggars who brought no utility to the State but lived idly and appropriated what was due to other poor people." A popular preacher

[1] *Summa*, 2.2, q. 187, a. 3.
[2] *Contra-impugnantes Dei cultum*, c. 7.

of the time [1] says to his hearers : " Following the example of the bees, you ought to expel from among you those idle men who are unwilling to work but consume the goods of others." Such action has been taken by some towns, " it is a most laudable custom and is commended by God and by holy men." Janssen [2] cites a later writer as follows :—

On the testimony of Scripture we know that God and the worker are the true owners of all things that serve human use. The Apostle says : If a man does not work, neither let him eat. All the others are dispensers or beggars.—Abbot Trithemius (John Heidenberg of Trittenheim) O.S.B. (†1516), *De laude Saxoniae*, 42.

Janssen then sums up :—

Only those who labour, be it with their hands or their heads, and those who are needy through no fault of their own, have any claim, according to the teaching of the Church, on the fruits of the earth . . . . All the other canonical writers took the same view that he [Henry of Langenstein] did of work, as the source of all possession : work and not property was the bestower of all worth and dignity, and to the workman belonged therefore the fruits of his work.—J. Janssen, *History of the German People* 2 (1928) 93, 96.

St. Thomas applies this principle to business in general, when he inquires whether a person can sell an article at a higher price than that at which he bought it. " If," he says, " a person sells at a higher price an article which he has improved, he is clearly receiving a reward for his labour." " He can lawfully do this because he has effected some improvement in the article, or because the price has changed owing to a difference of place or time, or because of the risk he undergoes in transporting the article." [3] Aquinas's general verdict on business is as follows :—

There are two kinds of exchange. (1) The first is as-it-were natural and necessary —goods and goods or goods and money—on account of the needs of life. Such exchange properly belongs not to business-men but to householders and statesmen who have to provide the necessaries of life for house or state. (2) The second kind—either of money and money or of goods and money—is not for the necessaries of life but in order to seek gain. According to the Philosopher, this kind properly pertains to business-men.

The first kind is praiseworthy because it ministers to natural need. But the second kind is blameworthy because in itself it ministers to the desire of gain which had no limit . . . . But there is nothing to prevent gain from being directed to some necessary or even honourable end, and thus business will be made lawful. For example, when a person who seeks a moderate gain in business directs it towards the support of his household or towards helping the needy ; or when a person devotes himself to business for the public good, lest the necessaries of life be wanting to his country ; and he seeks gain not as an end in itself but as a stipend for his work (*quasi stipendium laboris.*)—*Summa*, 2.2, q. 77, a. 4.

[1] James of Vitry († 1240), Sermon 61 to peasants and other workers.—Pitra, *Analecta Novissima* 2 (1888) 496.

[2] *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes* 1 (1913) 500. He also cites the Carthusian Werner Rolewinck († 1502) : " Clerics and soldiers are the debtors of both." *i.e.*, of farmers and craftsmen.

[3] *Summa*, 2.2, q. 77, a. 4, ad 1 and ad 2. The idea of a merchant's profit as *merces laboris* already occurs in St. Augustine : *En. in Ps.* 70, *sermo* i, 17.

We find a curious echo of this view six centuries later in Ruskin :—

> The merchant's function—or manufacturer's . . . .—is to provide for the nation. It is no more his function to get profit for himself out of that provision than is a clergyman's function his stipend. This stipend is a due and necessary adjunct, but not the object of his life, if he be a true clergyman ; any more than his fee or honorarium is the object of life to a true physician.—*Unto This Last* (1862), Cassell's ed. 1907, p. 52.

This is a high ideal. The mistake the medieval theologians made was to think that it could be kept alive solely by moral and religious suasion ; they laid too little stress on organisation, on the necessity of a social structure to prevent the evil and avaricious from lowering the standard for all. Nowhere in his voluminous writings does St. Thomas mention the gilds.

But perhaps it is his subsequent readers who are to blame for not sufficiently realising the historical context which St. Thomas tacitly assumed and had no occasion to debate. Moreover, we can infer from almost casual references that he took for granted social principles accepted in the society in which he lived. For him exchange was not an individualistic affair but social and reciprocal. " What was introduced for the common utility must not be more onerous to one rather than to the other." [1] True, he says that " human law could not prohibit whatever is against virtue, it is enough if it forbids what would destroy human intercourse." [2] So he appears to have relied on the " market "—as exemplified in the Fair of Lagny [3]—as sufficient to fix the equitable exchange-ratio or the just price. But it is only in later writers that we find explicit approbation of price-fixation by the community. " Would that prices were fixed for all things," says Gerson,[4] " as we see in the case of bread and wine." To quote Trithemius again :—

> In a well-governed community all arbitrary raising of prices in the case of articles of food and clothing should be peremptorily stopped ; in times of scarcity merchants who have supplies of commodities can be compelled to sell them at fair prices . . . . In every well-regulated community the right prices are fixed and the right wages for labour, so that no one may come to want and everyone according to his or her position may have sufficient food and clothing.—Trithemius, *De Iudaeis* 19 : Janssen, *Geschichte* 1 (1913) 512.

ALFRED O'RAHILLY

(*To be continued*)

[1] *Summa*, 2.2, q. 77, a. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, ad 1.
[3] See my article, " St. Thomas on Credit "—*Irish Eccles. Record*, Feb. 1928.
[4] *De contractibus* 19 : *Opera* 1706 iii. 175.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE RUBBER SITUATION

BY WILLIAM J. BARRETT, M.SC., A.I.R.I. (SC. & TECH.)

BY her conquests in the Far East Japan has brought to a close another chapter in the history of rubber. With Japan controlling 90% of the crude rubber, the world turns again, for its supplies of this essential raw material, to those areas where rubber-bearing plants are native. As in the early days of the rubber industry, when demand exceeded supply, all possible sources will be exploited—from the Hevea tree in its native South American forests to the African vines and Mexican shrub (Guayule). A survey by U.S. Government naturalists showed that there is available in Brazil, Bolivia, etc. many times the required number of rubber-bearing trees ; but their wide distribution in the jungle, with a shortage of skilled collectors, will not materially improve output. It is to be hoped that the demand for rubber at any price will not again be responsible for such exploitations of natives as were exposed by Roger Casement nearly thirty years ago.

The following table shows figures of production and consumption of crude rubber for the year 1937, the last normal year :—

Exports (in Tons)		*Imports (in Tons)*	
Malaya	469,960	U.S.A.	592,394
Dutch Borneo	206,150	Germany	98,170
Sumatra	142,000	Great Britain	91,178
Java	83,500	Japan	62,311
Ceylon	70,360	France	59,871
French Indo-China	43,400	Canada	36,088
Siam	35,550	Russia	30,462
Sarawak	25,920	Italy	24,733
South America	16,010	Australia	19,257
North Borneo	13,210	Belgium	14,969
India	9,800	Czechoslovakia	13,063
Africa	7,730	Eire	1,529
Burma	7,230	Rest of World	9,802
Mexico (Guayule)	2,700		

By international agreement the production of the principal exporting countries for 1937 had been limited to 84%. By 1941 this quota had been raised to 100%. Most countries increased their imports of crude rubber in 1939 and 1940, and 1941 saw those countries that were able, substantially increasing their reserves. The U.S. Government, whose country was dependent mainly on Malaya and the Dutch East Indies for its supply of rubber, took steps to build up a reserve, and it has been stated that almost one year's supply was available in that country towards

the end of 1941, about one-half being government-owned. It is probable that other countries, including our own, had similar reserve stocks. Drastic steps have been taken in all countries to reduce normal civilian demands, so that sufficient rubber may be available for defence purposes.

Prior to this war Great Britain and the Netherlands between them controlled about 90% of the raw rubber produced, since the rubber plantation industry of the Far East, based on the rubber-bearing Hevea tree, was pioneered and developed by these countries, who maintained research stations. The large consuming countries, notably the U.S.A. and Germany, had taken steps to reduce their dependence on this monopoly. The U.S.A. had begun plantations of Hevea in Liberia (Firestone Co.), Philippines (Goodyear Co.), Brazil (Ford Co.), and steps were taken to foster the development of the Guayule shrub—a rubber-bearing plant, a native of Mexico, which was grown on a large scale in the southern States. The Dupont Chemical Co. developed a synthetic rubber (Neoprene) based on the researches of a Nôtre Dame priest. Germany turned to her chemical industry, and the last few years saw the development there of synthetic rubbers (the Bunas), far superior in properties to the synthetic "Methyl Rubbers" produced in Germany during the war of 1914-18. Prior to this war the Bunas, even though more expensive, were able to compete with natural rubber for special uses in all countries. Germany also investigated the possibility of growing rubber, using the Guayule shrub or those plants investigated by the U.S.S.R. Russia took up the development of synthetic rubbers from her own raw materials and, in addition, made a nation-wide investigation of rubber-bearing plants. By cross-breeding from imported Guayule seed a hardy plant was claimed to have been developed. But they concentrated on the development of a local rubber-bearing plant, "Kok-sagyz" or Russian Dandelion, and 170,000 acres of this were said to have been planted in 1941 with yields of 150 lbs. rubber per acre reported. Beet sugar factories are to be used in their off-season for processing this plant.

The democracies should be thankful that the development of satisfactory synthetic rubbers has reached such a stage as may enable them to make good their losses of the natural raw product. Satisfactory synthetic rubbers are a comparatively recent development. The year 1941 saw the final stages in the production of several important new synthetics in the U.S.A. There are many popular illusions about synthetic rubbers. No one has yet made a synthetic product which has the chemical and physical properties of natural raw rubber. They are not materials that can be universally substituted for the natural product. But they are materials that, due to their better resistance to some of the enemies of rubber (for example oil, heat), can be used to give products with longer life when exposed to such conditions. There are still many processing difficulties to be overcome in the use of synthetics in the factory.

Germany claimed to have obtained up to 30% increased mileage with tyres made from her synthetic rubber (Buna-S) and that in 1939 all her tyres were made from synthetics. But it is stated that captured German tyres had 25% of natural rubber in them. The claim of better resistance to abrasion for Buna-S was confirmed in the U.S. But outside of Germany it is doubtful if synthetic rubbers have, so far, been used in tyres on any considerable scale. About 80% of the United States imports of crude rubber was used in tyres. To replace natural with synthetics for this, its principal use, would require the production of approximately 450,000 tons per annum of synthetics. In a statement issued by a U.S. Government spokesman on January 12, 1942, £100,000,000 is to be expended in the erection of plants to produce 400,000 tons per annum of the various synthetic rubbers. A pool of all patents, technical advice, etc. is to be made and the Government will take over the allocation of all synthetic rubbers, as has already been done in the case of natural rubber. This volume of production will probably not be reached for nearly two years. (Later information puts the goal at 700,000 tons by 1944).

The synthetic rubbers so far developed have as raw materials either acetylene, alcohol or petroleum distillation products. These raw materials, dependent in turn on plentiful supplies of carbide, starches, crude oil, etc., are used as sources of Butadiene or Chloroprene, which are then condensed or polymerized into the various synthetic rubbers. (The Butadiene or Chloroprene might be regarded as the bricks from which the more useful complex structures are built up). The following table shows the sources from which these basic " bricks " are made chemically and the names and distribution of various synthetics.

Source	Intermediate	Basic Unit	Synthetic Rubber		
			U.S.	Germany	Russia
Coal (Carbide)	Acetylene	Chloroprene	Neoprene [1]	—	—
Petroleum	Acetylene	Chloroprene	—	—	Sovprene
Coal (Carbide)	Acetylene	Butadiene	—	Buna-S (I.G.)	—
Potatoes	Alcohol	Butadiene	—	—	S.K.B.
Grain	Alcohol	Butadiene	Buna-S [2]	—	—
Petroleum	—	Butadiene	Buna-S [3]	—	S.K.A.
Petroleum	—	Butadiene	Chemigum [4]	—	—
Petroleum	—	Butadiene	Hycar [5]	—	—
Petroleum	—	—	Butyl-R [6]	—	—

(The name BUNA is derived from *BU*tadiene—*NA*trium or Sodium-Rubber).

[1] Dupont Co. [2] U.S. Government. [3] Firestone Co. [4] Goodyear Co.
[5] Goodrich Co. [6] Standard Oil Co.

Buna-S is a co-polymer of Butadiene and Styrene (a coal distillation product). Chemigum and Hycar (also known as Ameripol) are co-polymers of Butadiene and so-far-undisclosed substances. It may be significant that the large scale production of Isoprene from turpentine is being undertaken in the U.S. (Chloroprene, Isoprene and Butadiene are chemical brothers). Co-polymers of Butadiene and Isoprene are said to be the nearest approach to the natural product yet obtained.

The development of synthetics may be said to be only beginning. Wartime may necessitate the urgent development of at least one suitable product (Buna-S). (It is ironical that Buna-S is the product developed by Germany). But the appearance of Butyl Rubber is significant, as it opens up a new approach. It is said to be the lowest cost synthetic. Though Butyl Rubber is a product of the petroleum industry, it is not at all impossible for scientists in this country to develop a synthetic rubber along this or similar lines and capable of production from native raw materials. For example, we could (possibly) make Buna-S from our potato alcohol or carbide if these were available in sufficient quantity. (It may take 170,000 gallons of alcohol to yield 200 tons of Buna-S). The table above shows that, for the production of synthetics, large quantities of petroleum or coal or alcohol (potatoes, grain) are necessary. In the U.S. Butadiene is to be produced from seven sources, and even then it is said to be doubtful if sufficient will be available at an early date.

The huge capacity of the U.S. and German synthetic rubber factories will be a problem after the war. The U.S. Government have taken steps to control this by reserving the right to acquire all such plant. " It is doubtful if the U.S. will again allow itself to become dependent on a rubber supply controlled by foreign nations accessible only across an ocean." With most of the problems of handling synthetics probably solved under the urgency of war's demands, the producers of the natural product may well be afraid of such serious competition. The plantations themselves may escape serious damage, as reports indicate that, so far and apart from the destruction of replaceable factory machinery, no material change has taken place in the productive capacity of the plantations.

It was said a few years ago that the limit in resistance to tread-wear for tyres seemed to have been reached with existing materials and that the industry may have to look to synthetics to produce an answer.

It is understood that Great Britain is to depend on the U.S. synthetic rubber industry by importing the finished products to make up for her shortage of the natural product. Due to lack of petroleum and alcohol sources, alternative routes to Butadiene may be necessary and Great Britain may yet call on her already overworked coal industry.

One of the world's foremost Rubber Technologists, in a recent survey of America's rubber problem, warned that there was a danger of over-

stressing the importance of synthetic rubbers (this was prior to Japan's entry into the war). He declared : " We have waited too long in our systematic studies of home-made rubber ; let us not wait too long in our endeavours towards home-grown rubber." He was referring to Guayule, the Mexican rubber-bearing shrub, that in 1912 gave 10,000 tons of rubber (1–10th of the world's supply), but in 1940 only 4,000 tons (less than one two-hundred-and-fiftieth of the world's supply). A suitable strain of this plant is said to be capable of yielding 2,000 lbs. of rubber hydrocarbon per acre over a seven years' cycle or 1,160 lbs. of rubber hydrocarbon per acre from one year old plants ; as compared with the 400 to 1,000 lbs. per acre per annum from Hevea trees. The rubber is won from Hevea and Guayule by somewhat different methods. With Hevea the rubber-bearing latex is drawn from the tree at a controlled rate ; with Guayule the whole plant is harvested and replanting is necessary, the rubber being extracted from the plant after maceration. The hydrocarbon of Guayule rubber is said to be the same as that of Hevea rubber. Suitably processed Guayule gives 90% of the service of Hevea rubber in tyres.

Reclaimed rubber has been called America's first line of defence in the war of rubber. The U.S.A. is the largest producer and consumer of such material, using over 200,000 tons in 1940 and with a possible productive capacity of 500,000 tons. Reclaimed rubber is the only large volume raw material from which it is possible to manufacture rubber goods when crude rubber is not available. This is not to say that this can be done in all cases, for example in all parts of truck and bus tyres. But reclaim can release crude for such uses from many other products, and the intelligent use of reclaim will help to make more effective use of supplies of raw rubber. Germany in 1936 ordered a certain proportion of reclaim in all rubber products. Prior to this war Germany took most of Great Britain's rubber scrap.

By comparison with the synthetic rubber industry the reclaiming of scrap rubber requires simpler plant. While this country may not be able to undertake the manufacture of the synthetic product, it should undertake the reclamation of its used rubber (such a factory has indeed already been forecast). But to supply such a factory with its basic raw material—scrap rubber—will require a more intensive and intelligent collection system than has been used for our other waste materials—paper, etc. It is of interest to note that Great Britain does not propose to manufacture synthetic rubber, but intends to increase her production of reclaim, her consumption being only 7% of her crude rubber consumption against 40% in the U.S.A.

The problem of this country as far as rubber is concerned will be mainly that of the provision of sufficient tyres for use in our transport. In this connection it seems to be wrong economically to use lorries for

the long distance conveyance of turf, cattle, etc. if our rubber supplies are as bad as stated. Users of tyres must learn to give them greater care by slower and safer driving (there is now a speed limit), avoiding the excessive tread wear due to prolonged high speeds, emergency braking, etc. Proper inflation pressures should be used, and systematic rotation of tyres on a car is another way of prolonging tyre life. To give more effective use of our crude rubber stocks, more extensive use of retreading will probably follow. Roughly 50% of new tyres are capable of retreading or recapping, if this is carried out at the proper stage of tread wear. An average tyre is said to require 14 lbs. of crude rubber when being made. To retread this average tyre would take 5 lbs. of crude and it would give about 80% of the wear of the new tyre.

There is an aspect of reduced bus services that may not be apparent. A reduction in the number of buses means more heavily laden vehicles, probably with tyres carrying excessive loads. Overloaded tyres for prolonged periods mean more tyre failures, due to breakdown of the tyre structures. A tyre which has failed due to severe damage to the body of the tyre is fit only for scrap. On the other hand a tyre withdrawn from service owing to normal tread wear can be re-treaded to give further service. Large users have found that more than 40% of their tyres can be retreaded at least once. Mileage was not wasted by withdrawing tyres before they had worn excessively. A drastic reduction in bus services may not eventually be the most economical from the viewpoint of our crude rubber supply.

If we are to try and augment our supply of rubber, it would appear more suitable for us to follow in the steps of those countries that increased their supplies by growing rubber, since we are an agricultural country and not a chemically-industrialized one. By growing a rubber-bearing plant we should get a suitable rubber by one comparatively simple treatment. Alternatively, for example, we would have to grow potatoes, to distil alcohol from the potatoes, to manufacture butadiene from the alcohol and synthetic rubber from the butadiene, losing material by each step. Each chemical step would necessitate special equipment, skilled staff, etc. And we may yet have to face such difficulties.

We have seen that Russia and the U.S. made extensive developments along agricultural lines (as well as their chemically-produced rubbers). As Russia borrowed Guayule from the U.S., so the U.S. recently imported 500 lbs. of Russian dandelion seed by plane, the seed to be distributed to various northern agricultural experimental stations for growing. Harvested at the end of the first growing season, in Russia this plant yields up to 60 lbs. rubber per acre. If we put 200 tons of rubber as our minimum essential requirements, then 8,000 acres of a Kok-sagyz crop would be necessary. We grow 60,000 acres of beet to give us sugar, why not 8,000 acres of a suitable crop to give us rubber? W. J. Barrett

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF IRISHMEN IN FRANCE

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

Part III*

CLARY (CLEARY), JULIE, Queen of Spain and sister of preceding. In 1794 she married Joseph Bonaparte, elder brother of Napoleon. Joseph was placed on the throne of Spain by his Emperor brother in 1808. Julie was not as fortunate as her sister Desirée, for the battle of Vittoria ended her husband's kingship in 1813. There were two daughters of their marriage—the younger married her cousin Louis, the elder brother of Napoleon III.

CLEMENT, scholar. He was one of the *peregrini* who went to France from Ireland in the last decades of the eighth century, about the time when Charlemagne began to reign alone in the west. He was warmly received at the Frankish court, where he was entrusted with the care of " the youth of all ranks, both gentle and simple." This appointment has been naturally connected with the foundation of the " schola palatina," and the older French scholars, assuming that the school was established at Paris, claimed Clement as one of the founders of the University of some four centuries later. A Greek scholar of much repute, Clement wrote an erudite grammatical work. He died in 826.

COIGLY, JAMES, ecclesiastic and United Irishman. Born at Kilmore, Co. Armagh, in 1762. He went in 1785 to the Collège des Lombards in Paris for his education. During his residence there he clashed with the college authorities regarding a burse claimed by him and also regarding the régime of the institution which, he maintained, was too drastic and contrary to the regulations of the institution. The quarrel between him and the college officials eventuated in a complicated lawsuit in the French courts, and he was threatened with imprisonment by lettre-de-cachet. The outbreak of the Revolution, however, ended the proceedings, and Coigly left the college. He was residing in Paris during the later months of 1789, when there was much unrest in the city and lawless mobs moved about the streets. On one occasion he was mistaken for a royalist priest when his clerical dress attracted the attention of a band of sans-culottes. A man of strong physique, he was being dragged by them to a lamp post for execution, but he broke away from their clutches and escaped.

Returning to Ireland, Coigly became friendly with Tandy and other

* For Parts I and II see March and June issues.

United Irish leaders, and sought to establish friendly relations between the Catholics and Dissenters of his native county. This brought him into disrepute with the Orangemen, a band of whom in 1796 wrecked his father's house, in which they burnt a valuable collection of original historical manuscripts. In the same year he went on a mission from the northern Directory of the United Irish organisation to Paris, where he and Tandy seem to have clashed with Tone and Lewins, the U.I. representatives in the French capital. In February 1798 he again left Ireland on a fresh mission to Paris, but on the way was apprehended at Margate and lodged in Maidstone gaol with Arthur O'Connor and others. It is now established that the arrests were the result of secret evidence furnished by the informer Samuel Turner, a former co-worker with Coigly in the United organisation and then posing as its agent at Hamburg. Brought to trial, Coigly was condemned to death on false and contradictory evidence. On the 7 June 1798 he was hanged at Penenden Heath outside Maidstone—his execution was described by Lord Chancellor Thurloe as " a judicial murder." A stained glass window to his memory was placed in the Catholic church of Maidstone some years ago.

COLCLOUGH, CAESAR, politician. Son of Sir Vesey Colclough of Tintern Abbey, Co. Wexford, where he was born in 1766. He was one of the Irishmen residing in Paris who, in November 1792, were signatories of the address to the National Convention congratulating the French nation on its victories over the enemies of liberty. In June 1793 the Irish Chief Secretary wrote to the Secretary of State at London : " I have received an account that a Mr. Colclough of Wexford is now in Paris, which he is to leave immediately for this country (coming by way of Geneva and London) and that he is likely to have papers for Lord Edward FitzGerald and probably letters from Paine." Despite his Revolutionary sympathies, Colclough as a British subject was imprisoned, like many other Irishmen at the time, by the French government. Some years after his return to Ireland, he was elected member of parliament for Wexford, where he died in 1824. A kinsman, Captain Colclough of the Irish Brigade, was wounded at Fontenoy, while his cousin, John Colclough, a Catholic landowner of Co. Wexford, and his uncle, Cornelius Grogan, were hanged as leaders of the Insurrection in Wexford in 1798.

COLUMBANUS, saint and missionary. Born in 543 in West Leinster, he followed a monastic life at Bangor in Ireland. At the age of forty he set sail for France where, after arrival with his twelve companions, he travelled to the court of Gontram, king of Burgundy. At the time the ancient culture had, as a result of the tide of barbarian conquest, almost disappeared, paganism was widespread, and even the clergy had become degenerate. At Gontram's court he was graciously received, and he

selected for his abode the old fortress of Annegray in the Vosges mountains, where immense numbers were attracted to his monastery. The increasing number of his disciples obliged him to build another monastery at Luxeuil. Columbanus remained in France for twenty years, during which he disagreed with the Frankish bishops regarding the Celtic method of computing Easter. He quarrelled too with young King Thierry, to whose domain Luxeuil belonged and whom he denounced for his debauched life. Soldiers were sent to drive him back to Ireland, but as soon as he set sail from Nantes a sudden storm drove his ship ashore and the captain refused to resume the voyage. Columbanus again journeyed inland and received a friendly welcome from King Clothaire at Soissons. Continuing his travels, he later embarked on the Rhine, crossed the Alps and entered Lombardy, where he established a monastery at Bobbio, dying within its walls in 615. That famous monastery was long " the light of northern Italy," while Luxeuil too became a centre from which his spiritual children founded monasteries at Jumièges in Normandy, Lure in Burgundy and other places throughout France. Columbanus was author of many works—M. d'Arbois de Jubainville writes of him : " A glance at his writings is sufficient to enable one to recognise his marvellous superiority over Gregory of Tours and the Gallo-Romans of his time." His life was written by his contemporary, the Abbot Jonas.

Comyn, John Francis, state official. Eldest son of Dr. Michael Comyn (*see* following) and grandson of the notable Irish poet of his name, he was born in France in 1742. He became agent and secretary to the French nobleman the Duc de Breteuil—the latter was the grandson of Laura, daughter of Charles O'Brien, 5th Viscount Clare, commander of Clare's Irish regiment in the service of France. Zealously attached to the monarchy, the Duc de Breteuil was, on his appointment as chief minister of France after Necker's downfall in 1789, regarded with much hostility by the revolutionary leaders and, acting on the advice of Louis XVI, left France in the early days of the new regime. Comyn, his secretary, remained in Paris and was guillotined during the Reign of Terror.

Comyn, Michael, physician. He belonged to a notable family of Clare, in which county he was born at Kilcorcoran near Miltown Malbay in 1704. He was the son of Michael Comyn, the Irish poet and antiquary, by Elizabeth Creagh, niece of Sir Michael Creagh, Lord Mayor of Dublin in the reign of James II. Going to France in his youth, he went through a course of medical studies and practised his profession in that country. (His cousin, Dr. George Comyn, son of David Comyn of Kilcorney, Co. Clare, by Elizabeth Daverne (Davoren) of Lisdoonvarna Castle, resided at this time too in France where he was physician to Louis XV.). Accord-

ing to a contemporary document in the Royal Irish Academy (MSS. 24B11) Dr. Michael Comyn was much in favour with Louis XV, who issued to him a patent of nobility. This honour was procured largely through the influence of his kinsman, Charles O'Brien, the illustrious Franco-Irish soldier. The original document in the R.I.A. was written in Latin on parchment and bore the signatures of sixteen noblemen of Thomond and Justices of the Peace. It was sent in 1756 by his brother Edward to the doctor, who was then residing at St. Quentin in Picardy. In the latter place he married Mademoiselle de Charlecovix, by whom he had several sons and daughters. One of the sons became an officer in Clare's Irish regiment, while another, Jean Francois (*see* preceding), was guillotined during the Revolution.

CONNOLLY, JAMES, ecclesiastic. At the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789 he was a Franciscan friar at the Irish convent of his order at Boulay in Lorraine. In accordance with the official decree of April 1793 deporting all ecclesiastics who refused to take the oath to the civil constitution of the clergy, he was arrested as a recusant priest in that year. Sent to Rochefort for transportation to Ireland, he died in hospital in that town.

CONROY (O'MULCONRY), JOHN, soldier. Scion of an illustrious family of western Ireland, eminent for centuries in poetry, law and history. Born in Roscommon, he fought in the Cromwellian war, at the end of which he lost his estate and fled to France. Entering the army of that country, he fought in various campaigns under Marshal Turenne and was killed at the passage of the Rhine in 1671. In France he married the daughter of an Irish emigrant—a FitzGerald of the house of Desmond —with whom he obtained a French estate. This property passed to their eldest son Charles, who as a boy had accompanied his father through Turenne's campaigns. Like all the expatriated Irish gentlemen of the time, Charles clung to the hope of recovering his estate under a Stuart restoration. After the return of Charles II he did get a re-grant of a small part of his family's original property in Roscommon, but he returned to France soon afterwards. When James II raised the Stuart flag in Ireland, Conroy sold his estate in France and, going back to his ancestral home, rallied round him as many of the old sept of his name as he could. Having sacrificed everything for his rightful king, he was killed at the battle of the Boyne.

CONWAY, JAMES (1ST COUNT CONWAY), soldier. Son of Christopher Conway and Anne FitzGerald (a relative of Robert FitzGerald, Knight of Kerry). Born in 1711 at Glenbeigh, Co. Kerry, he went to France in his youth and entered Clare's Irish regiment, in which he soon rose to the rank of captain and later to that of brigadier-general. He was known in

France as the " patriarch of the fighting band of Kerrymen on French soil." Related by marriage to the O'Connells of Derrynane, he was helpful in advancing those members of that family who entered the French service. He died in 1787. He married Julianne, daughter of Denis Mahony of Dromore Castle, Co. Kerry, by whom he had two sons. (*See* below).

Conway, James (Viscount Conway), soldier. Son of preceding. Born in 1711 at Cloghane, Co. Kerry, he joined Dillon's Irish regiment in France as a cadet, became a lieutenant in 1756 and rose to the rank of brigadier-general. In 1781 he was appointed Inspector-General of the French colonial troops at the Cape of Good Hope. A strong monarchist, he left France after the outbreak of the Revolution and became colonel of Conway's regiment formed in England in 1794 by some of the seceding officers of the old Irish Brigade.

Conway, Thomas (2nd Count Conway), soldier. Brother of preceding. Born on 27 February 1735, at Cloghane, Co. Kerry, he was taken at the age of six to France where he was educated. Adopting a military career, he entered the Irish Brigade in 1749 and by 1772, after serving in the campaigns in Germany, reached the rank of colonel. In 1776 the representative of the United States in France recommended him, with a number of other French officers, for service in America. On arriving in that country in 1777, he was appointed brigadier-general of the continental army and took part in several battles in the War of Independence. Washington strongly opposed his promotion to the rank of Major-General on the ground that it would be unjust to older and abler American officers. At this time a conspiracy among the secret enemies of Washington aimed at depriving that great American soldier of supreme command and replacing him by General Gates. As the Irish officer was its moving spirit, it was known as the " Conway cabal." Later, however, a reconciliation took place between him and Washington, to whom he wrote : " You are in my eyes the great and good man."

Returning to France in 1779, Conway obtained the rank of Major-General in the Army of Flanders in 1784 and was appointed in 1787 Governor of all the French possessions in India. When the Revolution burst in 1789, it had many zealous supporters in the French colonies, and Conway, on account of his royalist sentiments, was compelled to return to France. There he engaged in royalist intrigues. In Dauphiny and Provence he organised in 1792 a secret organisation to uphold the monarchy and was appointed " General-in-Chief of the Army of the South " by the Princes. The conspiracy was, however, discovered and Conway fled from France. At the preliminary trial of Louis XVI in December 1792 a considerable number of incriminating documents were

produced as proofs of his Majesty's counter-revolutionary designs. Among them was a *mémoire* signed by Conway, as well as a copy of the instructions and powers given to him by the Princes. After leaving France he became Colonel-Commander of one of the six regiments of the so-called Irish Brigade established by Pitt in the English army in 1794. He died in the year 1800.

COOKE, MATTHEW (Matthieu de Coock), soldier. Born at Painstown, Co. Carlow, in 1658. Son of John Cooke (whose estate was confiscated because of his adherence to the cause of James II.) and Mary Lynch (daughter of Dr. Patrick Lynch of Westport, Co. Mayo). He went to France in 1691 as ensign in the King's Regiment of Foot-Guards, fought at Landen in 1693 and went through the Flanders campaign till 1697. With the rank of Major-General he went through the Italian campaign, in which he distinguished himself at Luzzara in 1702. Later in the Flanders campaign he fought at Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet. With the rank of Lieutenant-General he died on 10 August 1740 in his eighty-second year.

(Another officer of the same name began his career in the Irish Brigade in 1714. In 1717 he was a lieutenant and in 1727 a captain in Nugent's cavalry regiment. He fought through the War of the Austrian Succession and went to Scotland to help Prince Charles Edward in the '45. Holding the rank of Major-General, he died in 1762 in his sixty-second year).

COPPINGER, JAMES, soldier. Eldest son of John Coppinger of Roscoff in Brittany. (*See* below). He distinguished himself in the Catholic-Royalist army during the war in La Vendée. Later he accompanied his parents to Cornwall, whither they were compelled to flee by reason of their strong royalism. After a short time he returned to France and was arrested and imprisoned. Tried as an emigrant and aristocrat, he was sentenced to be guillotined. The people of Roscoff, it is said, remembering his family's kindness to them, pleaded so well on his behalf that his execution was postponed. The fall of Robespierre intervened and saved his life. Later, on the Bourbon restoration, he was left in peaceable enjoyment of the family property at Roscoff. In 1824, while sailing from Roscoff to Boulogne, he suffered shipwreck, from the effects of which he died.

COPPINGER, JOHN, landowner. Born in 1723, he was the son of James Coppinger of Lisapoole, Co. Cork. Leaving Ireland, he settled at Roscoff in Brittany where he purchased an estate. In 1793 this was confiscated during the Revolution. Crossing to Cornwall, he acquired a farm near St. Austell. Strange stories survived there until recently regarding him, and it was told how he arrived naked on the Cornish coast in the middle

of a fierce hurricane which had wrecked his boat. He was married to Mary MacEgan, by whom he had two sons. (For the eldest, James, *see* above).

COPPINGER, WILLIAM, High Sheriff of Cork in the reign of James II. At the period of the Jacobite war in Ireland he was the representative of the ancient family of his name, whose estates were situated at Ballyvolane, Co. Cork. He was attainted and emigrated to France where, after his death, Louis XIV assigned a foreigner's pension to his widow and conferred on her a *don d'aubaine* or exemption from the *droit d'aubaine*. (This latter invested the French monarchy with the heirship of the property of foreigners). His grandson and namesake became a leading merchant of Bordeaux, where he was born in 1735 and where he married a fellow-countrywoman, Miss Sexton of Limerick. Among their children was James Coppinger, a banker at Paris, who married into a French family. One of his grand-daughters was the wife of Count Eugene de Villèle, nephew of the celebrated Prime Minister of Louis XVIII.

CORBET, WILLIAM, soldier. Born at Ballythomas, Co. Cork, on 17 August, 1779. In 1798, while a student at Trinity College, he with Robert Emmet and eighteen others was expelled for treasonable activities. He went to Paris and, with the rank of captain, formed part of the small French expedition which sailed from Dunkirk in September 1798 under Napper Tandy with arms and ammunition for Ireland. Landing on the Donegal coast and hearing there of General Humbert's defeat at Ballinamuck, they re-embarked and arrived at Hamburg on their journey back to France. Through the information of the English spy Samuel Turner, they were arrested by the senate of that city, which handed them over to the British consul who had them conveyed to Kilmainham prison in Dublin. Napoleon inveighed strongly against the action of the senate and inflicted on it a fine of four and a half million francs. (In 1807 Corbet published at Paris a brochure entitled " The Conduct of the Senate at Hamburg revealed.")

Escaping from Kilmainham in 1803, Corbet again went to Paris where for a short time he was employed as professor of English at the military college of St. Cyr. (His escape forms the main theme of Maria Edgeworth's novel *Ormond*). Towards the end of 1803 he got a commission as captain in the Irish Legion, in which his brother Thomas was also an officer. The death of the latter in a duel with Captain Sweeney of the Irish Legion led to the transfer of William Corbet to the 70th regiment of the Line. With it he served in Massena's expedition to Portugal, where he distinguished himself in the retreat from Torres Vedras and especially at the battle of Sabugal. When Marmont succeeded Massena he took Corbet on his staff and, after the battle of Salamanca, Clausel

made him *chef de bataillon* of the 47th regiment. With this he served till 1813, when Marmont summoned him to Germany to join his staff. He served with the latter through the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 at Lutzen, Bautzen, Dresden &c. and he was made a commander of the Legion of Honour. After the first abdication of Napoleon he was in January 1815 promoted colonel and acted as chief-of-staff to General d'Aumont at Caen.

After the second restoration of the Bourbons Corbet was officially regarded with disfavour because of his friendship with General Foy, the leader of the opposition, whose acquaintance he had made in Spain. But in 1828, in spite of the opposition of the English ambassador in Paris, he was selected by Marshal Maison to accompany him on his expedition to the Morea. In Greece he showed marked distinction both as soldier and administrator, was made a knight of the Order of St. Louis and of the Redeemer of Greece, and was as well promoted to be General of Brigade. In 1831 he received the appointment of Commander-in-Chief to the French forces in Greece. Returning to France in the following year with the rank of General of Division, he commanded for some years at Caen and died at Saint Denis near Paris in August 1842.

CREAGH, JAMES, soldier. Born in Co. Cork in 1701. He emigrated to France in his youth and became an officer in Clare's Irish regiment. As Lieutenant-Colonel of that corps he fought at Fontenoy in 1745, where he was so severely wounded that his name was published in the official list of the dead. He had received a wound from a cannon ball in the breast which shattered his Cross of Saint Louis and passed completely through his body. Several pieces of the cross were extracted from the wound, and he made a slow recovery. For nearly a year he was soliciting at the Herald's office in Paris for another cross before he could get one. Twenty years later, at the battle of Rosbach in 1767, he lost an eye. Retiring from active service on pension in 1771 with the rank of " maréchal de camp," he lived into the first years of the Revolution.

CREAGH, PIERS, Jesuit priest. Born in the early years of the seventeenth century at Carrigeen castle, three miles from the city of Limerick. He was a nephew of the martyr-Primate Creagh, and became professor and superior of the Irish Jesuit college at Poitiers. While teaching there, he directed the education of his nephew and namesake (Peter or Piers Creagh) who, famous as an accomplished scholar and linguist, was later archbishop of Dublin. Before his appointment by James II to this office, the future archbishop had undergone much privation and persecution in Ireland and, after the Jacobite collapse there in 1691, was sent as ambassador to the French court to solicit help from

Louis XIV. After his selection as archbishop at Saint Germain-en-Laye by James II, he had wished to return to Ireland, but the king would not permit him to quit his person. Later the bishop of Strasbourg in Alsace, who had conceived a high regard for him, begged of the Stuart king to permit the exiled prelate to assist him in his diocese. The request was granted, and the archbishop spent the rest of his life in Strasbourg, where he died in September 1705.

CUSACK, CHRISTOPHER, ecclesiastic. Son of James Cusack, Rathaldron, Co. Meath, by Thomasine, daughter of James Brandon. He married Anne, daughter of Baron Oliver Plunkett. After his wife's death he became a priest of the Jesuit order and, at the end of the sixteenth century, emigrated to Flanders. On the continent he devoted all his patrimony to founding colleges for the education of the expatriated youth of Ireland. He laid the foundation of one at Douai in 1598, and afterwards the liberality of friends whom he influenced helped him to found others in various French towns like Lille, Tournai and St. Omer as well as at Antwerp. He was superior-general of all these houses, which, with the exception of St. Omer, continued to function till the Revolution. He died in 1619.

CUSACK, RICHARD, soldier. His father was Richard Cusack of Gerrardstown, Co. Meath, who, after the loss of the family estate in Ireland during the Cromwellian régime, entered the service of Spain. His mother was Catherine Martyn of Dangan, Co. Galway. Richard, who was born in Flanders in 1687, joined Dorrington's (later Rothe's) Irish regiment in the French army at the age of sixteen. He fought with distinction in most of the great battles of the War of the Spanish and Austrian Succession. At Fontenoy in particular he behaved with such gallantry that he received a royal pension of 600 livres, which was increased to 1,000 livres two years later by reason of equal valour at the battle of Lauffelt. In 1755 he received the public thanks of the king of France for his services at Maastricht, and in the following year he was created a Chevalier of Saint Louis. In 1758 he was appointed governor of Guerande, Croisic and St. Nazaire in Brittany, and in 1760 retired from active service. After a continuous military career of nearly sixty years he died at Corbeil in 1770 in his eighty-second year. By his marriage with Marie Anne Fitzgerald he had a daughter, Maria, who became the wife of Etienne de Lespinasse, Marquis de Langeac, who was a Major-General in the French army.

His two elder brothers, Gerard and Charles, were also officers of the Irish Brigade. Born at Air (Arras) in Artois on 30 December 1670, Gerard joined in his twentieth year Mountcashel's Irish regiment on its arrival in France. After the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, two of the three

battalions forming this corps were incorporated in Dorrington's regiment, which later became Rothe's, and in this he fought like his brother through the various campaigns of the first half of the eighteenth century. Holding the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, he died in February 1743 after more than fifty years' service. Charles the second brother at first went into the French service, spending some time in Lee's Irish regiment; but, as there was a considerable number of officers awaiting promotion in that corps, he passed into the Spanish service. In the army of his Catholic Majesty he became "maréchal-de-camp," was created Chevalier of the military order of "St. Jacques de l'épée rouge," and died governor of Melazzo in Sicily in 1748 after the conquest of that island by Spain.

Another member of this widely-spread and illustrious family, Nicholas Cusack, was the son of Edward Cusack of Lismullen, Co. Meath, by Lucinda, sister of the Duke of Tyrconnel. A major-general of the Jacobite army and a signatory of the Treaty of Limerick, he went to France and at Saint Germain-en-Laye was colonel under Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, of the second cavalry troop of 100 men which was the personal bodyguard of the exiled king. In Lart's "Registers" of Saint Germain-en-Laye he appears frequently there as a signatory at Irish marriages, and he eventually passed away in that town, the refuge of so many other expatriated Irish Jacobites.

DALTON, ALEXANDER (Count), soldier. He belonged to an Irish Jacobite family that settled in France. Son of William Dalton, described as an officer of the Irish brigade. Born at Brive (Corrèze) on 20 April 1776. Adopting the army as a calling, he was a sub-lieutenant in 1791, and from 1795 to 1801 acted as aide-de-camp of several famous generals like Hoche and Berthier. He and his brother accompanied their relative, Colonel Henry Shee of the famous Kilkenny family, on the expedition to Ireland in 1796 under Hoche and Wolfe Tone. The latter refers to them thus in his "Journal": "Two very fine lads of the name of Dalton, nephews (?) of Colonel Shee and sons of an Irish officer, are of our party and are particularly civil and attentive to me. I like them both, James and Alexander, very much." A few years later Alexander acted as intermediary in the negotiations at Paris between Napoleon and the United Irish leaders (Thomas Addis Emmet, Arthur O'Connor and others). In the army he rose rapidly to the rank of adjutant-commandant and particularly distinguished himself at the battle of Austerlitz. In 1806 he was appointed Colonel of the 59th regiment of the line. Going through the Spanish campaign, he became General of Brigade in 1809, while in the Russian campaign he was seriously wounded at the battle of Smolensk in 1812. In the following year Napoleon entrusted him with the defence of the citadel and forts of Erfurt, which he obstinately held till compelled

to surrender to the allied forces. After the restoration of the Bourbons, Louis XVIII conferred on him the honours of Chevalier of St. Louis and commander of the Legion of Honour. In 1815 he became an Inspector-General of the army and member of the committee entrusted with the revision of the ordinance on the exercise and manoeuvres of the infantry. (The original ordinance of 1791 had been edited with remarkable ability by General Count Daniel O'Connell). He went through the African campaign in 1832 when he commanded an army division, and two years later was appointed to an administrative position in the war office. Retiring from active service in 1848, he died at Versailles on 20 March 1859. His son, Alfred Count Dalton, born at Paris in 1815, also followed a military career and rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

Dalton-Shee, Edward (*de Lignères*), politician and peer of France. Nephew of preceding and son of Colonel James Wulfranc Dalton and Francoise (Fanny) Shee, daughter of Colonel Henry Shee (*see* Shee), peer of France. Born at Paris on 1 June 1810. When his parents died prematurely, he was adopted by his grandfather Colonel Henry Shee, who bequeathed him his property and peerage. Among his Irish relatives in France were such well-known figures of the day as Henry Clarke, Duke of Feltre, and Colonel Oliver Harty whom Napoleon created Baron de Pierrebourg.

Having, as has been mentioned, lost his parents in early life, Dalton-Shee enjoyed a free and unrestrained childhood, and at the College of Henri IV, where he was educated, acquired the reputation of being a rebel to all discipline. There, too, he was said to have shown an intense dislike for study and " a scorn for authority with a contempt for its representatives." In 1826, when in his sixteenth year, he was appointed a page at court, where he showed little zeal for duty and but small respect for the king and royal family. Sainte-Beuve in *Portraits Contemporains* describes him as entering the great world with all the bitterness and resentment towards society of a proletariat. His grandfather, who (as has been mentioned) made him his heir, died in 1820; but, being then a minor, Dalton-Shee did not take his seat in the house of peers till 1836. In the chamber he allied himself with its young and independent members, notably with Montalembert. He soon became a prominent figure in the political discussions of the time, advocated the complete separation of Church and State, and declared himself neither a Catholic nor a Christian. In the summer of 1840 when Napoleon III, landing at Boulogne, made an effort to precipitate a revolution in France and was arrested, the fate of the future monarch was discussed in the house of peers. Dalton-Shee, as the youngest member, was the first to be called on for his opinion. He voted for the death penalty, though he was the most merciful later when the punishment of Napoleon's subordinates

was under discussion. In the exciting days of January 1848 he criticised with much bitterness all the kings of Europe as well as the July monarchy and its ministers. In the following month he fought at the barricades and tried to bring with him there the deputies of the Left.

Dalton-Shee published many articles in the contemporary journals, wrote his *Memoirs* and many political pamphlets, while he was the author of two comedies (*L'Ivresse* and *Le mariage du Duc Pompée*). With advancing years he became almost totally blind. He died at Paris on 22 May 1874. Gambetta delivered a funeral oration at his grave, praising him for having broken away from his class to take the side of democracy and describing him as the opponent of the spirit of theocracy. Colonel Myles Byrne, with whom he was acquainted, states that in the house of peers he " acted an honourable and independent part and did not avail himself, as he might have done, of the great influence his granduncle (? grandfather) Shee always enjoyed with the Orleans family." Another Irish contemporary, James Roche (author of *Essays of an Octogenarian*), does not, however, seem to have had an equally favourable opinion of him. He writes : " Dalton-Shee is considered a man of some talent ; but, except in name, he disclaims all alliance with Ireland—which, from various traits of character and conduct, is not to be regretted."

Daly (O'Daly), Dominick (Domingo del Rosario), ecclesiastic and diplomatist. Born in Co. Kerry in 1595. He pursued his theological and philosophical studies at first in Spain, later in France at Bordeaux, and completed them at Louvain. An invitation to the court of Spain resulted in an intimate friendship between him and Philip IV. The latter, who was then master of Portugal, gave him permission to establish at Lisbon an Irish Dominican convent. When Portugal threw off the yoke of Spain, Father Daly was chosen as her confessor by the new Portuguese queen, and his character, marked by prudence and tact, was so outstanding that the king, John IV, sent him in 1655 as Portuguese ambassador to the court of Louis XIV. In the French capital he refused to have any residence except the Dominican convent of his Order in the Rue St. Honoré. He lived there in much simplicity, observing in all details the rules of the house. He always went to audience, however, with the usual pomp of ambassadors. He became, we are told, the " love and admiration of the whole court," and combined modesty and religious humility with the gravity and wisdom of an ambassador. When the king of Portugal died in 1656, Daly celebrated at Paris the accession of his son and heir to the throne of Portugal with great solemnity—he gave public largesses to the people and had splendid fireworks on the Seine. He was the author of two works of Irish interest—*The Rise and Fall of the Geraldines of Munster* (Lisbon 1665) and *The Persecution*. He died at Lisbon on 30 June 1665. Richard Hayes

DR. D. B. REID AND THE TEACHING OF CHEMISTRY

BY DAVID KENNEDY, M.SC., H.DIP.ED.

AT the Dublin meeting of the British Association in 1835 Dr. David Boswell Reid of Edinburgh addressed the Statistical Section on the teaching of Chemistry. His revolutionary ideas attracted considerable attention, and he was invited to give evidence on the subject before the Select Committee of the House of Commons which, under the chairmanship of Sir Thomas Wyse, was then investigating the Diocesan, Foundation and other schools of Ireland " with a view to increasing their utility." His methods were immediately adopted by some Irish schools and to-day after a lapse of more than one hundred years, they still have the benediction of Irish education ministries both in the North and in the South. An examination of them and their origins may perhaps be of interest and profit to Irish educationists.

Reid advocated the teaching of Chemistry—and Chemistry to him included much that we now call Physics—by practical work only and the consequent elimination of those aspects of the subject which did not lend themselves easily to this treatment. This was his fundamental idea and from it sprang his two other main innovations : (1) elaborate laboratories equipped with gas and water ; (2) cheap, standardised apparatus. He foresaw also, with true Scottish commercial genius, the rise of the laboratory furnishing industry and, had he not been fully occupied gathering in the fees from his astoundingly successful classes in Edinburgh, he would doubtless have played an even greater part in the development of this industry. Commercial success was a not unimportant factor in the moulding of his ideas.

To appreciate the revolutionary character of the changes he proposed it is necessary to know something of the science-teaching of his day. Then, and for many years afterwards, the traditional method of lecture and demonstration held almost undisputed sway in the universities. Schools of the secondary type did not, as a rule, teach science : apparent exceptions, such as the non-conformist academies of England and Ulster, were really quasi-universities, founded to provide higher education for those excluded by religious tests from the English and Irish universities. Science subjects were prominent in the curricula of many of these, and their gradual transformation into secondary schools did much to spread science-teaching. Typical examples were the Strabane and Belfast Academies, founded in 1785 and modelled on the Scottish universities. In the former the curri-

culum in 1787 included Electricity, Optics, Astronomy, Magnetism and " a course of Experiments."[1] Apparatus consisted usually of frictional electrical machines, an air pump, a telescope, a microscope, magnets, mirrors, etc.[2] Expense made it impossible for smaller private schools to provide even demonstration experiments. These taught science exclusively from a text-book when they taught it at all. The teaching of mensuration and surveying in the hedge schools, enriched as it was by an intimate connection with everyday practice, was a notable exception to the usual barren book-work.

The intellectual torpor which descended on Oxford and Cambridge in the eighteenth century led to the development of science in England outside the universities. The names of Priestley, Dalton, Davy and Faraday, none of whom held a university post, are sufficient evidence on the point. The Newtonian tradition with its consequent truly English ignoring of later continental developments and the exclusion from the universities of non-conformists with their industrial activities in which science, especially chemistry, was finding increasing application, were factors which helped to bring about this state of affairs. It was directly otherwise in Scotland. There the traditional French connection and the non-conformist influence were responsible for developments which gave the Scottish universities a fifty years lead of their English counterparts in the scientific field.

Natural Philosophy had kept its place in the Scottish university curriculum, which was still the medieval *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* and the three philosophies. A text-book in the diocesan library at St. Malachy's College, Belfast, which belonged to Dr. Denvir who was for a time Professor of Natural Philosophy at Maynooth and subsequently Bishop of Down and Connor, probably represents the curriculum in this subject at Glasgow at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is *Jacobi Rohaulti Physica. Latine vertit, recensuit, et adnotationibus ex Illustrissimi Isaaci Newtoni Samuel Clarke, S.T.P. Editio Quarta, Londoni,* 1718. On the fly-leaf is written *Liber Roberti Ferguson Glasguae empta Decembris die* 22 *Anno Domini* 1720. The basis of this work was the Physics of Aristotle modified by the ideas of Descartes and Newton, and this copy contains in addition about five pages of closely written MS. notes on Magnetism. As the century progresses we can see at Glasgow the entrance of new ideas and new methods, in particular the experimental approach to scientific problems. The purchase of new instruments, repairs to the experiment room, plans for a new chemical laboratory, the purchase of French works on mathematical physics for the library[3] are symptoms of this advance.

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[1] *Records of the General Synod,* Belfast, 1890, vol. 3, pp. 80, 81, 89.
[2] McLachlan, *English Education under the Test Acts,* Manchester, 1931, p. 62.
[3] Scott, *Adam Smith as Student and Professor,* Glasgow, 1937, pp. 146, 147, 148, 182.

Irishmen flocked to Glasgow in large numbers. It was estimated[1] that in 1764, of the four hundred or five hundred students at the university, one-third was Irish. They were, in the main, Ulster candidates for the Presbyterian Church; and even if they attended the university for only the final year, as some did, they took the Natural Philosophy course. But as well as the church candidates, there were representatives of the Puritan mercantile families of the South and many medical students who took a more professional interest in Chemistry. Indeed it was as an ancillary to medicine that Chemistry developed in the Scottish universities. We have, for example, the Ulsterman, Joseph Black, studying medicine at Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1746-1754, and as a result of his researches on lithontriptic medicines presenting his famous thesis on the composition of the carbonates, *De humore acido a cibis orto, et magnesia alba,* a work which was the foundation stone of quantitative chemistry.

Facilities for practical work were not generally available for such students, and an attempt to cater for their needs was made by William Knight (later Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Belfast Academical Institution) at Aberdeen in 1811 when he advertised a course of lectures on Chemistry.[2] "No experiment," he stated, "will be omitted to illustrate Pharmacy, Agriculture and the Arts and Manufactures." Many eager students carried out their researches privately. One of these, Sir Robert Christison, has left an amusing account[3] of how, in 1814, "Syme, my twin brother and I, Andrew Coventry, Alexander Jackson, Robert Mercer, James Hogg and five others . . . formed a Chemical Society, which met once a week in the evening and performed and demonstrated such of Dr. Hope's (then Professor of Medicine at Edinburgh) experiments as were within our means." On one occasion, as they watched a reaction, it suddenly got beyond control and, fearing the explosion which they knew to be imminent, the members of the Society cowered in the corners of the cellar exposing to the flying splinters of glass "those parts of the anatomy best fitted to receive them." But their work was not all school-boy stinks and explosions. One of the group discovered that rubber was soluble in coal-tar naphtha, the foundation of the waterproofing process afterwards patented by Mackintosh.

Christison pursued the study of Chemistry with zest and, after his course at Edinburgh, went to Paris where, in his time, the most eminent workers in this field were to be found—among them Dumas, Gay Lussac, Ampère, Berthollet, Biot and Arago. In an interesting chapter he describes the methods of quantative analysis of organic compounds (principally drugs used in medicine) which he learnt there. Among his fellow students, he tells us,[4] was a Mr. Boyd, son of a chemical manu-

[1] Coutts, *A History of the University of Glasgow,* Glasgow, 1909, p.315.
[2] Findlay, *The Teaching of Chemistry in the Universities of Aberdeen,* Aberdeen, 1935, p.18.
[3] Christison, *Life of Sir Robert Christison,* Edinburgh, 1885, vol. 1, pp. 58 *et seq.*
[4] Christison, *loc. cit.,* p. 267.

facturer of Belfast. Another Belfastman, Thomas Andrews, afterwards Professor of Chemistry at Queen's College, Belfast, also spent a post-graduate year in Paris in the laboratory of Dumas. The great Liebig, who in 1824 opened his laboratory at Giessen, was also a student in Paris at this time.

Such was the *milieu* in which Reid's ideas developed and which he exploited with such success. His laboratory in Edinburgh, which undoubtedly drew on Paris and Giessen for its planning, was in full work in 1833. One of his earliest assistants was William Gregory, M.D. who had studied under Liebig at Giessen.[1] Reid had been appointed to assist Dr. Hope in conducting practical classes in Chemistry at the University and, with characteristic energy, had tried to persuade the Council to found a Professorship of Practical Chemistry in his favour. The attempt failed and he diverted his talents to extra-university work. He built and equipped his own laboratory in which his private classes, boys of all ages from seven to seventy, experimented to their hearts' content. Here is his own description of it:[2]—

> The room is 80 feet square, and is supported upon chimnies capable of commanding 100 furnaces all at work at the same time. The ground is intersected by drains and flues in every direction, and to assist in operations where heat is required, there are 200 gas-burners, which can be brought into play at the same time. All the most important apparatus and a select series of specimens are continually before the students, and there are also upon the wall symbolical representations of all the principal processes of chemistry . . . No teacher assists me, but I have three men who are always ready to do everything that is wanted, and there are several mechanics, who keep the gas work, etc., in repair.

Reid stated that the number in a practical class was limited to twenty-five and that he sometimes took six or eight such classes in a day for one hour each. He reckoned that altogether he had about 300 students who paid £3 3s. each for a three months course. On this basis his income from private classes was at the rate of £3,780 per annum. In addition, he conducted similar classes at the university and at schools and institutions including a girls' school in Edinburgh, where his pupils numbered from 200 to 500. The fees here are not stated nor the duration of the courses, but they must have considerably augmented the sum stated above. Not even Sir Humphry Davy, who (it will be recalled) received 750 guineas from the Royal Dublin Society for a course of lectures in Agricultural Chemistry, surpassed these amazing figures.

Reid did not enforce the limitation of numbers—perhaps because it meant a corresponding limitation of income; in fact, he wrote[3] that "the advantage derived by the pupils is, within certain limits, just in proportion to the number attending," and he told the British Association

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[1] Findlay, *loc. cit.*, p. 51.
[2] Evidence before the Select Committee on Education in Ireland, (1835), p. 394.
[3] Reid, *Elements of Practical Chemistry*, Edinburgh, 1830, p. x.

in Dublin of one class which he conducted in 1834-35 where one hundred pupils operated at the same time.[1] His description of the apparatus used is interesting :—[2]

> In the mechanics' class the students were arranged along five boards, each being provided with twenty gas lamps, one of which was placed alternately on either side. Every pupil received a blow-pipe, a test-tube, slips of paper on which the tests were applied, and also a broad and a narrow strip of glass such as glaziers throw away. These strips were used for the same purposes as the papers, and also for solution, boiling, evaporation, crystallization and filtration ; the narrow strips, on the other hand, were employed for imitating furnace operations, heat being applied by a common lamp or candle—assisted, where this was necessary, by the blow-pipe.

The processes mentioned above were carried out with drops of reagents placed on the strips of glass and the reaction was watched, if necessary, through a microscope. It is interesting to find Reid introducing—for he claimed it as his own idea[3]—microscopic chemistry at this early date, for the method has been put forward recently[4] as the most up-to-date innovation in practical chemistry. It appealed to Reid because it reduced the cost of conducting practical classes.

In his *Rudiments of Chemistry* (third edition, Edinburgh, 1848, pp. 160-161) Reid gives a list of chemicals and apparatus suitable for schools and academies which, he says, should not cost more than about £3. Besides the pieces mentioned above it includes improvised forms of retort-stands and Bunsen burners, a pneumatic trough, a retort, an evaporating basin, watch glasses, pipettes, crucibles, etc. Sets of apparatus based on his plan and made up in portable form were on sale. He mentioned[5] one which " may be obtained at Mr. McFarlane's, at the North Bridge, Edinburgh." Another similar set was advertised in the Dublin Press[6] on the occasion of the British Association meeting, price £1 11s. 6d. In view of what is known nowadays of the pressure that commercial interests bring to bear on public policy, it may be well to record here Dr. Reid's significant admission[7] that " no class of men have contributed more to facilitate the introduction of science among all classes of society than philosophical instrument-makers."

To conduct such large practical classes discipline had to be very strict. A contemporary gives a side-light on Reid's methods.[8] " Reid taught with zeal and success. His teaching was too much, however, in the recruit drill-sergeant fashion for my taste—' With your left hand seize your retorts. Unplug your stoppers. Handle your acid bottles. Pour in your acid.' Such, as described to me, was the style of instruction to rows of students, all similarly armed and all obeying simultaneously.''

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[1] *Report of the Fifth Meeting of the British Association*, p. 126. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Evidence before the Select Committee, p. 397.
[4] Newbury, *The Teaching of Chemistry*, London, 1932.
[5] Select Committee, p. 398. [6] *Dublin Evening Mail*, Aug. 10, 1835.
[7] Select Committee, p. 402.
[8] Christison, *loc. cit.*, pp. 343-344.

The minds of the automata obeying these orders can hardly have been conscious of any educational stirrings. It has been suggested[1] that the higher type of mind finds experimental work boring; that scientists of the calibre of, say, Clerk Maxwell are satisfied with theoretical results and that elaborate experimental verification is for inferior minds. Sir Robert Christison places Reid in the latter category:[2] "He had the skill to put his teaching in a popular form, attracted crowded classes, and got a name as a chemist with the multitude, although I am not aware that he ever added a single fact to the science he constantly pursued."

Reid was anxious to sell science not only to schools of the secondary type but also to primary schools and to such educational establishments as Mechanics' Institutes, forerunners of our technical schools. He insists on the cheapness of his methods, the possibility of conducting large classes, and the utility of the instruction imparted. The engineer, the agriculturist, the mechanic, the emigrant, the landed proprietor and the manufacturer, he says[3], will all find ample opportunity for using their chemical knowledge. In his text-book, *The Rudiments of Chemistry*, he devotes much space to such aspects of applied science as steam-boilers, stoves, ventilation, bleaching, preservation of meat, germination, fermentation and soap manufacture. In his day scientific control of such processes was only beginning, and doubtless his simple experiments were very close to actual works' practice. To-day our science syllabuses do lip service to the study of similar problems, but the increasing complexity of industrial processes on the one hand and the inflexible rigidity of education ministries on the other have produced a gap so wide as to be almost unbridgeable between school laboratory experiments and the industrial applications of science. Compare, for example, the common school preparation of oxygen from potassium chlorate and manganese dioxide with the commercial method for the manufacture of oxygen by the fractional distillation of liquid air.

In the emphasis which Reid placed on utility there is a hint of the then fashionable attitude towards 'useful education.' This popular nostrum for the evils of the time had been developed by Pestalozzi and De Fellenberg on the Farm Schools of Neuhof and Hofwyl. Their Irish disciples, among whom was Sir Thomas Wyse, chairman of the Select Committee which examined Reid, administered it to the Irish poor at Bannow and Templemoyle.[4] And Reid echoes their jargon when he defends his methods in these words:—[5]

> The union of a certain amount of practice with the theory of the subjects taught, however simple the arrangements by which all the pupils are enabled to join in this

[1] Crowther, *British Scientists of the 19th Century*, Pelican edition, pp. 176-177.
[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 344.
[3] Article in *Chambers' Journal*, No. 228, 1836.
[4] *Cf.* Templemoyle Agricultural Seminary, *Studies*, March, 1940.
[5] Reid, *Rudiments of Chemistry*, p. iv.

department, has been found of great importance in carrying these views into effect. The pupil, as Chaptal has well observed of those who engage in experiments, then sees in his practice the confirmation of all that he does; he compares the theory with his own operations, and in a manner identifies it with them.

Dotheboys Hall, it will be remembered, was conducted on the same principle. "We go upon the practical mode of teaching, Nickleby; the regular education system. C-l-e-a-n, clean, verb active, to make bright, to scour. W-i-n-d-e-r, winder, a casement. When the boy knows this out of the book, he goes and does it."

A complete course at Reid's laboratory comprised 150 hours lectures and 60 hours practical work, but he stated[1] that he wished to curtail the lectures and looked forward to the time when the course would be entirely practical. He admitted that public opinion was opposed to such a development. Here is some of the evidence on the point:—

Do you not consider it absolutely requisite, for giving not only a general knowledge of the science, but for encouraging habits of generalization, that courses of lectures should be given in connection with practice?

I have long been of the opinion that in a course of practice, the lecturer always communicating with his pupil, a more effective course of instruction is carried.

Again, in 1836 he wrote:[2] "My labours have been devoted for some time past . . . with the view of introducing a systematic course, in which the theory should be taught to a great extent by the practice of the pupils themselves, as presenting a better mode of inculcating the doctrines of the science." He even objected[3] to the students making notes because "they lose so much of the experimenting."

An obvious limitation, recognised by Reid, to the scope of a science course conducted entirely by practical work is that large tracts of scientific knowledge must be excluded because they introduce dangerous experiments or demand elaborate and expensive apparatus. In its favour it may be said that boys take to practical work with avidity; but at its worst it becomes a demonstration, to use Kipling's words.

"How something mixed with something else
Makes something worse,"

and at its best it produces expert manipulators of apparatus with an extensive and peculiar knowledge of more or less isolated chemical facts.

Notwithstanding these limitations Reid's methods were widely adopted. He stated[4] that "there has been a Normal School established in my lecture-room; a number of teachers have come lately to be instructed in the method of teaching Chemistry for the purpose of introducing it as an elementary branch of education. In Ireland I was requested to

[1] Select Committee, p. 394.

[2] *Chambers' Journal*, 1836, No. 226. I am indebted to the present editor of *Chambers' Journal* for the file containing two articles by Reid on the teaching of Chemistry.

[3] Select Committee, p. 393.

[4] Select Committee, p. 397.

return and explain to a society of teachers more particularly the views that I had stated to the Statistical Section of the British Association there, as they were anxious to introduce the plan into their schools." This is confirmed by the British Association Report for 1835 which states that " a number of individuals in London, Edinburgh and Dublin have stated their intention of introducing it (*i.e.* Reid's plan) practically both in mechanics' institutions and in schools and academies for the instruction of young persons." By 1836 courses on this plan had been given in at least eight primary, secondary and higher educational establishments in Edinburgh and to classes at Montrose, Arbroath, Dalkieth and other towns.[1] Further, in 1842, with the sanction of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, " they were illustrated in detail to 1,000 teachers in London and its vicinity, in a series of twenty lectures given at Exeter Hall, 500 young persons attending at the same time from different public and private schools."[2]

The main question arising out of a survey of Reid's methods is, what is the place of practical work in the teaching of science? The answer to this will, in turn, be determined by the answer to a still more fundamental question, what is the aim of science-teaching in general education? Reid does not seem to have taken up any consistent attitude on this point. He advocates the study of science for various reasons without trying to determine how far the arguments were compatible and to what extent they could be combined. Something of the same vagueness also underlies our approach to this fundamental problem, especially in our secondary school courses. Is our aim to give the boy the professional training of the analyst, or to prepare him for the science courses of the university, or to enable him to appreciate the social importance of science, or do we use the scientific method as an intellectual discipline? The answers to these questions will determine the content of our science syllabus and the place of practical work in the study of that syllabus.

It is one of time's revenges that the present year finds science teachers bogged in the same morass into which, as they declared so loudly more than one hundred years ago, teachers of classics had led their pupils, the morass of slavish-following-of-precedent. The present crisis may perhaps be an incentive to us to struggle out and on to firm ground before we are finally engulfed. The necessity for supplying home-manufactured goods to replace imports is making us realise the value of science : shortage of apparatus may be a blessing in disguise, if it frees us from the burden of set pieces manufactured by ingenious firms of laboratory suppliers. But if our science teaching is to pay a national dividend, the aims—or lack of aims—and methods that have done duty for over one hundred years must first be thoroughly overhauled.

DAVID KENNEDY

[1] *Chambers' Journal*, No. 226, 1836.
[2] Reid, *Rudiments of Chemistry*, pp. 170-171.

THE SEA-APOSTOLATE IN FRANCE

BY PETER F. ANSON

IN an article entitled *Ecclesia Maritima* which appeared in THE MONTH for August 1936, Fr. Martindale drew attention to certain aspects of Catholic sailor service in France, comparing the methods adopted with those in England. He noted the intensive spiritual campaign of prayers for seafarers and remarked : " A proper Sea-Apostolate is not a mere catering for the seaman apart from his ship, showing him how and where to get to Mass, and providing for him rooms in which to drink cocoa, play billiards, and write his letters. It is our duty to help him and his *in their conditions* and to seek to improve those conditions if they be bad." Fr. Martindale also pointed out that all this intensive work for seafarers in France has been built up on a basis of carefully collected knowledge of the social and economic factors that have any bearing on French maritime life, what are known as *enquêtes*. " It insists on knowing *all* the relative facts " before it embarks on any enterprise, spiritual or charitable. To the average Catholic who happens to be interested in seafarers the Sea-Apostolate suggests little more than an effort to " do something " in the way of providing hospitality for sailors—in other words, all that is needed is to ensure financial support for Seamen's Clubs or Institutes in the larger ports. I do not suggest for one moment that it would be practical to follow the example of French Catholics in every respect—conditions are utterly different in Britain or in Ireland—but it might be useful to study just what had been achieved in France before the outbreak of war.

Until the summer of 1939 there were about fifty " oeuvres," all of which aimed at promoting the social, moral or spiritual welfare of seafarers in one way or another. In 1925 practically all existing societies and organisations were formed into the *Fédération des Oeuvres maritimes catholiques francaises*, which was affiliated to the *Apostolatus Maris Internationale Concilium* in 1931. They may be classified under the following headings :—

(1) SPIRITUAL AND RELIGIOUS

Archconfraternity of Notre-Dame de la Mer (Boulogne) ; Oeuvre of Masses for the souls of men of the Navy (Toulon) ; League of perpetual Communion for men of the Mercantile Marine (Bordeaux) ; Association of Masses for mercantile marine seamen lost at sea (Bordeaux) ; League of prayer and Communions for fishermen (Boulogne) ; Union " Duc in altum " for officers in the Navy ; Union of non-commissioned Naval officers (Toulon) ; " Unions catholiques " at Boulogne, Dieppe, Villerville, Grandcamp, Port-en-Bessin, Barfleur, Saint-Cast, etc.

(2) FORMATION AND INSTRUCTION

"Jeunesse maritime chrétienne"; "Oeuvre des mariniers" (bargemen) at Dunkerque; "Ecole professionnelle maritime" (Cancale).

(3) CHARITABLE (including seamen's homes)

"Adoption familiale des Orphelins de la Mer" (Paris); "Foyers" or "Abris du Marin" at: Boulogne, Tréport, Havre, Honfleur, Cherbourg, Saint-Malo, Brest, Ile d'Yeu, Sables-d'Olonne, Rochfort, Bordeaux, Marseilles; Villa Jeanne d'Arc, Toulon; "Fraternelle des anciens Cols Bleus", "Oeuvre de l'Almanach du Marin Breton".

(4) SOCIAL ACTION

Secrétariat maritime (Dunkerque); "Secrétariat social maritime de Bretagne" (Saint-Servan); "Groupe Saint André" (Le Havre).

In addition to the above "oeuvres" there were others not affiliated to the *Fédération, e.g.*, the *Société des Oeuvres de Mer* and the *Livre du Marin.*

The *Fédération* carried on its work by means of sub-committees devoted to: *Section de Piété* (*i.e.* all purely spiritual "oeuvres" including the organisation of the regular Blessings of the Sea in different ports and fishing villages); (2) *Section d'Assistance,* which covered both the Seamen's and Fishermen's Homes and Institutes as well as the work for orphans and barge-dwelling families; (3) *Section d'Action spirituelle,* which comprised all works of Catholic Action and which was subdivided into four "Commissions": (*a*) Marine militaire, (*b*) Marine de Commerce, (*c*) Marine de Pêche, (*d*) Parochial activities; (4) *Section d'Action Sociale,* which was subdivided into two "Commissions" devoted to "Action professionelle" and "Enseignement professionel." In addition to these sub-committees there were others whose object it was to deal with Congresses and International Relations.

Such then was the elaborate machinery which existed in France for carrying on the fifty or so "oeuvres" for seafarers. We will now describe some of the more important of them.

(1) SPIRITUAL ORGANISATIONS

Archconfraternity of Notre-Dame de la Mer. Boulogne-sur-Mer has always shown a special devotion to Our Lady, Star of the Sea, and a confraternity in her honour was founded here during the 14th century. It was suppressed at the French Revolution, and it was not until 1890 that it was revived by the abbé Garnier, that zealous apostle of the working classes who had already established confraternities dedicated to "Notre Dame de l'Usine," "Notre Dame des Champs," etc., for factory and agricultural workers. He felt the need of a similar guild for seamen and fixed on the port of Boulogne as the obvious place for the foundation.

The revived confraternity was erected by a brief of Pope Leo XIII in 1894. Its headquarters were to be at the basilica of Notre-Dame at

Boulogne. The principal object was the sanctification of its members by a special devotion to Our Lady, Star of the Sea, whose aid was to be invoked continually on behalf of all seafarers. The Archconfraternity did not confine itself exclusively to spiritual work; the members collected funds for the relief of destitute seamen and the establishment and support of sailor's Homes and Institutes. The seafaring members were urged to say night prayers both in their homes and on board their ships, also to observe moderation in the use of strong drink, for drunkenness has always been a prevalent vice among French seamen, unlike the majority of the people of that country. There were monthly meetings in the basilica at Boulogne and similar reunions in other parishes along the coast, where the Archconfraternity was established later on. Religious instruction was given to young seamen in ports. Masses were said regularly for seafaring members, both living and dead. This work afterwards became a separate organisation: *Ligue de prières et de Communions pour les marins pêcheurs.*

Much more recent spiritual organisations are the *League for Perpetual Communion* and the *Association of Masses for those Lost at Sea* both established at the " Foyer du Marin " at Bordeaux. The object of the former is to form an unbroken " chain of Communions " throughout the year for seafarers, so many of whom seldom have the chance to assist at Mass even on Sundays. The latter society aims at having Masses said in every seaport of France, at least once a week, for the souls of men who have lost their lives at sea, especially those whose families are too poor to pay for Masses.

The *Union "Duc in altum"* has been described as a " school of Christian perfection for Naval Officers." The name recalls the command of Our Lord to the disciples to " launch out into the deep " before the miraculous draught of fishes. This association, the membership of which is confined to naval officers, was founded in 1918 at Dunkerque by Père Vigy, formerly a lieutenant in the French Navy. The only rule binding on each associate is to make a quarter of an hour's mental prayer daily. *Duc in altum* was intended primarily for a picked body of men; nevertheless its membership increased rapidly. Before the War there were few ships and shore establishments of the French Navy without some associates, each carrying on a quiet but very real apostolate and setting an example of a fervent Catholic life. There was a flourishing group of the D.I.A. at the Ecole Navale at Brest. Both here and at the other big Naval base of Toulon study circles, held usually once a month, were organised. There was another group in Paris, and a special feature of the reunions in most ports were the hours of adoration in some church and monthly Communions. Members were kept in touch with each other by means of a monthly Bulletin.

In 1928 there was founded at Salins d'Hyères a similar society for

non-commissioned officers of the French Navy—the *Union catholique des officiers mariniers*, the objects of which, like the former, are purely spiritual, though the obligations merely consist of a promise to fulfil the normal duties of a good Catholic life so far as is possible in the Navy. The only prayers which have to be said are a daily *Pater* and *Ave* for the intentions of the members of the Union.

The first of the many *Unions catholiques des gens de mer* was founded at Port-en-Bessin (Calvados) by the abbé Bernard in 1910, the object being merely a local confraternity of fishermen. But the energetic curé of Port-en-Bessin has always been a man of wide vision, and it was not long before he saw his own Norman parish as the example of what other parishes of fisherfolk might copy. By 1914 he had launched a plan of a federation of Catholic fishermen's Unions, not only fishermen but other classes of seamen. Having known Port-en-Bessin for more than twenty years, I have no hesitation in saying that the *Union catholique* of the fishermen is quite the most live organisation in the parish. Practically every fisherman and fisher-lad belongs to it—except a few younger ones who proclaim themselves Communists, or a few older men who still cling to the " Liberalisme " of their youth. The obligations are simple : a united effort to defend the Catholic religion before all things and to encourage its practice by word and by example. Once a month a special Mass is celebrated for the intentions of the Union ; the members assisting at it in a body. Every year the feast of the patron—Bl. Pierre Berthelot, the Norman sailor who became a Carmelite friar and who was martyred in the Far East—is kept with great solemnity. The fishermen wear the badges of the Union, march to church in procession carrying banners and join lustily in the Common of the Mass—the music of which most of them know by heart. So too on every greater feast day, and above all on the occasion of the triennial Blessing of the Sea, do these reunions of the fishermen take place in their parish church.

It was in 1922 that the parochial " Unions " of Barfleur (Manche), Grandcamp-les-Bains and Villerville (Calvados) were federated by Mgr. Lemonnier, Bishop of Bayeux and Lisieux, into a *Union catholique des gens de mer de Normandie*. Three years later another similar group at Dieppe joined the Fédération. In 1924 there was formed a Fishermen's Union at Saint-Cast (Côtes-du-Nord) on the lines of the one at Port-en-Bessin, followed by another at Boulogne-sur-Mer in 1925.

Blessings of the Sea are common in most of the fishing villages on the coasts of France, especially in Normandy and Brittany, where they are the occasion of special services in church, with High Mass and sermon, sometimes preceded by a retreat or mission. Perhaps the most famous of these annual or triennial events is the " Pardon des Terres-neuves " at Saint-Malo, which takes place in February on the departure of the fishermen for the cod fisheries on the Newfoundland Banks.

(2) Formation and Instruction

Jeunesse maritime chrétienne. The maritime branch of the " Jocistes " was founded by the abbé Havard of Saint-Malo and Père Lebret, O.P., a former lieutenant in the Navy, shortly after the Apostolat Maritime Congress at Boulogne in 1929. It may be described as the National Federation of the young Catholic seafarers of France.

The objects of the J.M.C. are : the religious education of young seamen ; the Catholic Action of young seamen ashore and afloat. Its membership includes lads who intend to go to sea ; those who are serving in the training ships or schools for seamen ; and all seafarers up to the age of 25 years. The J.M.C. aims at making good Christians of every young seaman. It is essentially a mass movement ; yet within it there must be zealous promoters—apostles whose whole aim is to gain others to the service of Christ and His Church. Groups are formed in parishes, training ships and schools, in ports and on board ships, both of the Navy and Mercantile Marine. The J.M.C. work is directed by a General Secretary, whose headquarters are at Saint-Malo, where is edited and published that extremely lively magazine *Jeunesse Maritime* (the bulletin for the " militants "), *En Route*, and many other kinds of literature. The methods employed for the religious, intellectual and moral formation of J.M.C. members consist of study circles, the circulation of books from a central library, reunions of groups for days of prayer and study, annual retreats, recollection days, and pilgrimages to Rome, Lourdes or shrines of local interest. The spiritual formation is directed by chaplains—general, federal and local. The " Journées Maritimes " hold an important place in J.M.C. activities. They are a way of introducing the movement into places where it is still unknown and of breaking down prejudice. When as many as 400 young sailors arrive in a town to spend the day in intensive study of religious and social problems, concluding with solemn Benediction in church, some lasting result may well be expected. The participants form contact with each other, many of them having probably never met before, and the natives are impressed ! The J.M.C. is first and foremost an attempt to advance the Catholic sea apostolate *through seafarers themselves*—an extension of the principles of Catholic Action to the seafaring world. What this great movement has achieved for French seamen in the little more than ten years since it was started is difficult to put into words. Its chaplain-general, Père Lebret, has travelled all round the coast again and again, studying maritime problems from every angle. A small part of this immense knowledge of the subject can be found in that erudite volume *Les professions maritimes à la recherche du bien commun*, which he edited in collaboration with M. René Moreux and published in 1939.

The *Oeuvre des Mariniers* was founded at Dunkerque in 1898 by Père Marcant, C.SS.R., with the object of bringing spiritual help to

the numerous families who spend their lives in barges on the rivers and canals of France. These barge-dwelling folk are cut off from all normal Catholic life and have few means of keeping up the practice of religion. The work developed rapidly once it had been started. Children were taught their catechism and prepared for first Communion, were also given a general education. Missions and retreats are preached to the " bargees " in towns where their vessels congregate. The Franciscan Sisters of Saint-Sarlin conduct a " pensionnat " where children can board while their parents are away for long periods all over France. In recent years the scope of this " oeuvre " has been extended to seamen of the mercantile marine in Dunkerque. Their ships were regularly visited by the priests of the dock-side church of Saint Jean-Baptiste, who were in close touch with the Headquarters Council of the Apostleship of the Sea until the outbreak of war. Presumably this excellent work for seamen has come to an end, and we have no knowledge of what is now being done for the bargemen and their families.

(3) CHARITABLE AND SOCIAL ASSISTANCE TO SEAFARERS

The orphans of seafarers are looked after by the society known as *Adoption familiale des Orphelins de la Mer*, founded in 1897 by Vice-Admiral Gicquel des Touches and Rear-Admiral Serre. The society, which has local committees in almost every town in France, has an imposing list of benefactors and subscribers. About 80 per cent. of the orphan boys become seamen, either in the Navy or Mercantile Marine. It is stated that at least 10 per cent find their vocation as priests or Religious. Before the War about 1200 boys were maintained by the society.

Foyers du Marin. There were sailors' homes before the War at the following ports : Boulogne, Tréport, Havre, Honfleur, Cherbourg, Saint-Malo, Brest, Ile d'Yeu, Sables d'Olonne, Rochefort, Bordeaux, Marseilles and Toulon. The Boulogne " Foyer du Marin," which was admirably run by two Friars Minor, was very popular with the fishermen. There were two sailor's homes at Havre : the Hotel St. Pierre, mainly intended for Breton seamen, and the large and up-to-date *Maison du Marin* conducted by the Société des Oeuvres de Mer, which was opened in 1931 very much on the same lines as the big Protestant seamen's institutes in charge of the British Sailor's Society or the Missions to Seamen. The Havre *Maison du Marin* was by far the best equipped of all the sailors' homes in France, but the religious atmosphere was deliberately kept in the background, for it has always been the policy of the Oeuvres de Mer to keep the right side of a not always too sympathetic Government and to stress the social rather than the spiritual aspects of their work.

The seamen's institutes at Honfleur and Cherbourg were mainly intended for fishermen, while those at Brest and Toulon were first and foremost for the use of the men of the Navy. Perhaps the most interest-

ing of all the French sailors' homes was the " Foyer du Marin " at Bordeaux, founded by the abbé Mounier in 1929 with the special blessing and encouragement of Cardinal Andrieu. It is a vast building, containing a bar, reading room, restaurant and dormitories. From the first it was under the care of ladies, and in recent years ten nuns have taken over the place. Not without some difficulty however ; for, as the abbé Mounier wrote in his quite unique magazine *A Dieu Vat*, many Superiors replied when asked if they could spare some of their Sisters : " Sailors are not in our line." Finally he came across a community which appeared to have a wider vision. The ten Sisters arrived on a Friday and the abbé wondered how they would face up to Saturday, the day on which the number of " drunks " is high and the Infirmary well in demand. To his query the Superior replied with a twinkle in her eye : " I've had twenty-five patients and eleven of them were dead-drunk." So remarkable has been the success of this bold venture of putting nuns in charge of the Bordeaux " Maison du Marin " that it is more than probable that other sailors' homes in France would have followed the example of this far-sighted priest. His magazine was quite the best of all seafarers' magazines, though the French was often so racy and untranslatable that even a Dictionary was of little help. The Foyer du Marin was also a very active centre of the Apostleship of the Sea—the only place in France where this world-wide society had been definitely established. Here were started the *Ligue de Communion perpetuelle* and the *Association de Messes pour les Péris en Mer* which have been described already. The abbé Mounier had also in view the foundation of a Congregation of *Missionnaires de la Mer*, which like the Company of St. Paul in Milan was to embrace both men and women who were to devote their lives to the welfare of seafarers.

The *Villa Jeanne d'Arc*—otherwise " La Maison de famille du soldat et du marin "—at Toulon is a very different type of sailors' home to that of Bordeaux. Maybe the buildings and their immediate surroundings have something to do with it, for the Villa (originally a girls' school) stands in a typical Provençal garden ; in springtime gay with anenomes, hyacinths and jonquils. There are dark pine trees and golden-flowered mimosas, pergolas covered with roses and vines and in the distance a glimpse of the sea. If space permitted I could write much about the Villa Jeanne d'Arc, for I have stayed there on several occasions during the past twenty years ; being the guest of the chaplain, M. le chanoine Revel, who lived on the premises in the midst of French " cols bleus," regarded by them as a real father and friend and always accessible any hour of the day or night. There was a chapel where Mass was said daily, a restaurant, bar, recreation hall and cinema. For the more serious-minded sailors there were study circles and an excellent library.

The busy port of Marseilles was lacking a Catholic sailors' home until a few years ago, when the " Foyer du Marin " was started by Père Bethez,

A.A.—ideal quarters having been found with a lovely garden as an added attraction in hot weather. Brest has a " Maison du famille " for the cadets of the Ecole Navale, also a " Foyer du Marin " for Naval ratings and soldiers. There is nothing special to relate about the seamen's homes in other French ports, except the *Abris du Marin* on the coast of Brittany, founded by M. de Thézac, the first of which was opened in 1898. The object of these establishments were first and foremost to combat drunkenness among the Breton fishermen. Before the war there were " Abris du Marin," under the direction of the *Oeuvre de l'Almanach du Marin Breton* at Roscoff, Camaret, Douarnenez, Audierne, Ile-de-Sein, Guilvinec, Ile Tudy, Sainte-Marine, Passage-Lanriec, Concarneau and Le Palais (Belle-Ile). They were not merely clubs for fishermen but also centres of serious social study; instruction being given in navigation, the use of motors in boats, wireless telegraphy, and other matters connected with the work of a present day fisherman. Some of these institutes had sleeping accommodation for sailors, others hospitals; but the chief object of all was to provide a centre of comradeship and cheerfulness, otherwise only to be found in the café and *débit*, so that the men and lads will be kept away from the temptation to reckless indulgence in the cheap red wines and spirits which have become such a curse. But drunkenness is no new vice in Brittany. For centuries the civil and ecclesiastical authorities have been trying to deal with it.

It was M. de Thézac who started that now immensely popular yearly publication, the *Almanach du Marin Breton*, to be found in almost every fisherman's home in Brittany. It is a unique production; combining a Nautical Almanac, a medical dictionary, a popular encyclopedia and a comic Christmas annual. The religious influence of all M. de Thézac's work has been indirect. He had good reason for keeping the priests out of most of his *Abris du Marin* at the date when they were founded. Such a large majority of the fishermen were rampant Socialists of a very revolutionary if not anarchist tendency, that discretion had to be observed in the method of approach. When I was last in Brittany, I found that the situation had changed and that in some ports the priests were in close contact with this excellent work.

By far the most important of all the numerous organisations in France devoted to the moral and spiritual welfare of seafarers is the *Oeuvres de Mer*, at least when regarded from the point of view of its resources and the scope of the work undertaken. It dates from 1894. The founder was M. Bernard Bailly, a retired lieutenant in the Navy, who having realised the appalling neglect of the French fishermen on the Newfoundland Banks and off Iceland determined to start a similar work on their behalf to that which was being done for English fishermen on the North Sea by the Protestant *Missions to Deep Sea Fishermen*. Two of his brothers, Pères Vincent and Paul Bailly, belonged to the Augustinians of

the Assumption, and with their help and the approval of the then Superior-General, Père Picard, the *Oeuvres de Mer* were established. The object of the society was to bring the medical, material, moral and religious assistance to French seamen and to those of other nations, especially those engaged in the deep-sea fisheries. For nearly half a century the society has maintained one or more hospital ships cruising off the Newfoundland Banks or Iceland. These ships carry a doctor and chaplain. They also act as postmen, collecting and distributing letters among the fishing fleets. Several of the hospital ships have been lost, but they have always been replaced as soon as possible. Well-equipped Fishermen's Institutes were founded at Saint-Pierre-Miquelon and at Faskrudsfjord in Iceland. They have been the means of providing real homes for the men and have done much to combat drunkenness among them.

The *Oeuvre du Livre du Marin* started in 1910 as part of the activities of the *Oeuvres de Mer* when Frère Eugène Bergé, A.A., then director of the " Maison de famille " at Saint Pierre, began to distribute copies of the popular *Almanach du Pèlerin* to the crews of the fishing boats. It soon became clear how great was the need for reading matter, and parcels of novels, magazines, religious pamphlets and prayer books were sent out from the great publishing house run by the Assumptionists in Paris—the *Maison de la Bonne Presse*. In 1916 this work was formed into a separate organisation, known as *Le Livre du Marin*. The scope was widened to embrace the Navy and Mercantile Marine. Libraries were established in most of the chief ports of France, also on board ships. The members of the *oeuvre* pay a small subscription and receive the monthly magazine *Au Large*. The result has been that French seafarers were well supplied with good reading matter, both secular and religious.

(4) Catholic Social Action

I have left myself very little space to deal with yet another important branch of the sea-apostolate in France, the Catholic social action carried on since 1929 by the *Ecole Sociale Maritime* at Saint-Malo, which developed into the highly efficient *Secrétariat Social Maritime* in 1931. The man behind all this intensive research into the social and economic problems affecting every aspect of maritime life has been Père Lebret—that ex-Naval officer who is now one of the most famous Dominicans in France. In 1932 the *Secrétariat* organised the first Maritime Social Congress at Quimper, at which were discussed by professional experts the economic problems of the seafaring inhabitants of Brittany. The report of this Congress, when published, had far-reaching results, leading to the federation of the " syndicats libres " of seamen and then to an elaborate investigation of every branch of social and economic problem connected with maritime life in France, which later on produced a number of valuable publications in the series known as *Etudes corporatives*.

There has been founded a Catholic Action group of officers in the Mercantile Marine, known as *La Croix de Saint André*, whose object is to spread the knowledge of Catholic social teaching in the merchant service according to the principles laid down by Leo XIII and successive Pontiffs. The bulletin published by the *Croix de Saint André* always contained articles of extreme interest, together with reports of intensive work being done by study circles and at periodical Congresses. Not long before the War another *Secrétariat Social Maritime* was established at Havre, which was to specialise in economic questions affecting the mercantile marine of France—the Saint-Malo *Secrétariat* confining itself more especially to the fishing industry.

From these brief notes on practically all the various branches of the Catholic sea-apostolate in France as it existed two years ago, it will be realised how active it was and how effectively it was organised when compared with what has been achieved in this country. Of course conditions are utterly different, and it would be unfair to stress the comparison too far. But what is obvious is the *scientific approach* of the French to the problems affecting the spiritual and moral and economic welfare of seafarers when compared with most of what has been done in Britain and Ireland by Protestants as well as Catholics. Such men as Père Lebret and his disciples have realised that the sea-apostolate demands a thorough spiritual and intellectual formation before it can be tackled effectively. It is not merely a matter of collecting money for the establishment or support of port chaplains and seamen's institutes; it is a far more subtle job, involving the education and training of all classes of seafarers in the principles of Catholic Action, and a complete dedication to this particular form of apostolic work on the part of certain priests and layfolk.

PETER F. ANSON

FATHER MICHAEL ALFORD, S.J.

1587–1652

BY P. G. CARAMAN, S.J.

NOT much has been written on the history of English Catholicism in the seventeenth century. The Gunpowder and Popish plots have been dealt with often enough; but, for the rest, the incidents and the figures of the century remain largely unknown. No apology, therefore, is needed for introducing to those who may be interested in him an English Catholic writer of the period who has, I think, as good a claim as any of his contemporaries to be rescued from neglect.

Father Michael Alford, author of the *Annales Ecclesiastici*,[1] is certainly one of the greatest church historians of his time. His name, however, is scarcely known; his work, still less. *The Dictionary of National Biography* gives him a single column in which the errors of the short biographical accounts of Dodd (*Church History*) and Foley (*Records of the English Province S.J.*) are faithfully reproduced. Neither of these writers appears to have seen his Annals, and their appreciations are exasperatingly inadequate.

A fair idea of the merit of the Annals can be given if it is said that, in point of treatment, they can be compared only with the two well-known and almost classical attempts to write a scholarly history of the British Church that were made during the first century after the Reformation—Matthew Parker's *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae* (1572) and James Ussher's *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* (1637). The scope of these works, indicated by their titles, roughly corresponds with a smaller work of Alford himself, the *Britannia Illustrata* (1641), which is no way inferior to them in execution. But it was the achievement of Alford to apply to a more general history of the English Church the same principles of historical inquiry for which Parker and Ussher have been justly commended. It is this which makes the Annals a unique achievement in the historiography of the period.

The annals were published in four volumes folio at Liége in 1663, eleven years after the author's death. As the "Permissu Superiorum" is dated 26 September 1655, we may presume that the work was eight years in the press. Considering its dimensions, this is not surprising. Apart from supplementary matter, such as various indices, etc., there are altogether 2,587 double columned, closely-printed pages, covering

[1] The full title is *Annales Ecclesiastici et Civiles Brittanorum, Saxonum et Anglorum* (1663).

the period " from the birth of Christ " to the year 1189. The work is incomplete in the sense that the author intended to carry the story further ; how far, it is not certain. But, as they stand, the four volumes are the most exhaustive history of the English Church written in the century. The massive product of Alford's labours can best be compared with the more celebrated Annals of Baronius. And it is interesting to know that " he modelled himself on the great founder of Annals, the most eminent Cardinal Baronius, that the service he had rendered the Church universal " he (Alford) might render to " the British and English Church " (Preface of Editor, vol. 1).

Alford, in his own Preface, puts himself at the feet of Baronius : men in France and Germany have followed the Cardinal's lead by writing a church history of their nations ; he will do the same for his own country. He admires the " splendid method," the " virile style," and the " exact balance of judgment " of his master. But it is his fidelity to Baronius's method that makes his own Annals such a monument. Year by year, like Baronius, Alford with infinite labour and regardless of length tells the story of the English Church. In the tradition of Baronius, he refuses to content himself with mere references : extracts are given " in extenso " —from Chronicles, papal letters, laws of kings, monastic charters, decrees of Councils, etc. In the single chapter (Anno 429) dealing with the mission of St. Germanus his authorities are overwhelming : Spelman, Bede, Baronius, the Gallic Chronicle of Prosper, Camden, Harpesfeld, Richard Vitus, James Gordon, the Centuriators of Magdeburg, Balaeus, Constantius, Lipelous, Ussher, Parker, Capgrave, Francis Haraeus, Sozomen, the Antiquities of Glastonbury, Jocelin, Hector Boetius, Mathew Paris and the monk Cassian. He takes nineteen columns to exhaust the events of this year, twenty-two to tell the story of St. Augustine's landing, and forty for that important year in the history of the English Church, 1170. This will give some idea of the proportions of the work. It would be tedious to describe it further. The single phrase " An English Baronius " is perhaps the best summary of the character of the Annals.

It is the amassing and ordering of materials into a narrative that gives the Annals a permanent usefulness.[1] But Alford is not merely a compiler. He is an historian in the best sense. In a period when the Puritan wrote to edify, the Protestant to prove a thesis, and the Catholic (so frequently) to confute it, it is a relief to meet a man who set out to discover the truth—disinterestedly indeed, but also with a practical purpose—*viz.*, " that a remedy might be found " for the prevailing religious muddle " by looking back to earlier and clearer centuries (prima et puriora saecula)."[2]

[1] As recently as 1940 Sir Ivor Atkins, writing in the *English Historical Review* (Vol. LV, p. 13), refers his readers to Alford as to the only place in which the correspondence between Anselm and Wulstan on a delicate point of ecclesiastical jurisdiction is laid out in full from both sides.

[2] Cf. Alford's Preface, Vol. I.

Starting with the assumption that the traditional faith is the true one, he proceeds with something like a methodic doubt. If Catholicism proves to be inconsistent with this faith, then " it is to be banished from the memory of man " : conversely, the Protestant religion is to be accepted or rejected according to the same standard (" sicut veritas aut vanitas ejus apparet "). Alford therefore is more open-minded than the learned Ussher, whose effort to trace the ancestry of Anglicanism in the heresies of Pelagius and the Waldenses mars his valuable work. Alford's simple purpose is " to enquire the truth " ; for him there is no such thing as Catholic, any more than Protestant, history. The single object of his writing is to discover and correctly to interpret fact, which is not susceptible of creed. " Fact," he says, " is the Lydian stone of historical truth." To establish " fact " more convincingly, he cites, as far as possible, contemporary records ; he calls up the witness of " the apostles of the people, the founders of churches, the princes and their people," and examines " the things they said, wrote and did." He does not pause to work out the contrast between the old and new order in religion : he merely sets up a standard of comparison and leaves the reader, with his knowledge of the present, to draw his own conclusion as he looks into " the mirror of the Annals." The narrative can therefore proceed without interruption, controversial points being relegated to a very brief appendix. Occasionally he does side-step from his story, but only when a matter of fact has been misrepresented by an earlier writer. Thus he meets Parker's contention that St. Augustine, being an Italian, could not have preached to the Jutes by citing half a dozen passages from Bede in which the word " preach " occurs.

Alford's Annals would appear to have been fairly widely used without acknowledgment by writers in the later seventeenth and in the eighteenth centuries. The jealous Fleetwood, bishop of Ely, was familiar with the work and judged it a " very valuable treasure of the ecclesiastical history of our nation." In the last century Birch, the editor of the Saxon Charters, and some of the more scholarly among the editors of the Rolls Series were aware of the book and refer to Alford's transcripts of documents in their critical notes. But there is only one man who has fully acknowledged the merits of the Annals ; and his praise is worth a great deal. He is Father Serenus Cressey, O.S.B., the author of the *Church History of Brittany* (*i.e.*, Britain), which is by far the best account of the pre-Norman Church published in English during the seventeenth century.[1] By comparison with Alford's, Cressey's work is well-known and is acknowledged to have those virtues which have been claimed for the Annals. Cressey's testimony is interesting. " In the first place," he writes towards the end of his Preface, " gratitude and even justice require of me an

[1] Published somewhere abroad in 1668. Dodd gives Rouen as the place of publication, but no indication is given in the title-page or elsewhere in the book.

acknowledgement that the following ' History,' as to far the greater part of it, is collected out of three former volumes of ' Ecclesiastical Annals ' not long since written by the late Reverend and learned father, F. Michael Alford (*alias* Grifith) of the Society of Jesus." Cressey has made " considerable additions " and corrected " several passages " with the aid of works published in the interval, " yet all this hinders not but the general fabric of the work is to be ascribed to him." And later : " in consideration of the obligation which not I alone, but all Catholics, yea, our whole nation has to the aforesaid Venerable father," he affectionately wishes it were in his " power to raise to his memory a Pyramide answering to his merits," since he has no doubt that hereafter Alford " shall be esteemed a principal ornament . . . . of this present age ".[1] Cressey, familiar with every piece of historical writing of his time, clearly regarded Alford as the greatest ecclesiastical historian that post-Reformation England had up to then produced.

A few details of Alford's life will add interest to his work. He was London born of a good recusant family. A boy of nine in 1596, he was sent over by Father John Gerard to the English school at St. Omer's, founded four years previously and already numbering some hundred students.[2] He was there six years and then entered the English seminary at Valladolid, where his training for the priesthood was sponsored by the Duchess of Medina.[3] In April 1606 he was invalided home to Douai[4] and, in February the next year, joined the Jesuit novitiate at Louvain along with his school friend and fellow student at Valladolid, Henry More, who pays an affectionate tribute to him in his " History of the English Province."[5] In a letter to Father Persons at Rome, Father Gerard mentions these two novices as very promising men.[6]

After ordination Father Alford was posted as chaplain to the port of Naples, where " he spent two years in doing all offices of kindness to our English gentry and merchants which frequented that port."[7] As

[1] Cressey's first volume takes his " History " as far as 1066. The second volume was not published " upon account of some nice controversies between the See of Rome and some of our English kings, which might give offence " (Dodd). In acknowledging his debt to Alford, Cressey does not do justice to his own work. His narrative is beautifully written, and his sketches of the Saxon bishops—*e.g.*, St. Dunstan, St. Oswald—are delightfully done, while his translations of the passages of Saxon and medieval writers which he weaves into his " History " make one regret that he did not translate their entire Chronicles. Cressey, however, is better known for " his great application to the Mysticks." The seventeen works which Dodd attributes to him are evidence of his great zeal. " He was much respected by the moderate writers of the Church of England " (Dodd, Vol. 3, p. 307).

[2] The scholastic year began on October 15th. Michael probably arrived late, for " in the very act of embarking he was arrested and put into prison with his mother," but was soon released, having " amazed everyone by his fearless answers to the Queen's servants." Registers of Valladolid : Catholic Record Society, 30, p. 76.

[3] Alford is generally said to have studied philosophy at Seville. This is almost certainly an error. Had he been transferred there, the Valladolid Register would have noted it.

[4] Douai Diaries, Vol. I (C.R.S. 10), p. 71.

[5] *Historia Provinciae Anglicanae* (1660), p. 394.

[6] Arch. S. J., Rom. : Ang. 37, f. 118.

[7] Cressey : Preface to *History of Brittany*.

Penitentiary at St. Peter's he continued his ministration to English Catholics for another five years (1615-1620). He then returned to Flanders to be Assistant to the new Master of Novices, Father Gerard. After a year he was appointed first Rector of the house just established at Ghent for fathers in their third year of Probation. It is pleasing to find the records of the house, during Father Alford's rectorship, full of the missionary activity of the men under his charge among the English, Irish and Scotch soldiers who were fighting on both sides in the chronic religious wars of the Netherlands.[1] At the end of 1628, after more than thirty years in exile, he crossed into England and was sent to work in the district of Leicestershire.[2]

The *Britannia Illustrata*, Alford's first work,[3] appeared in 1641. He was probably, therefore, over fifty before he started on his Annals. The first two volumes were finished by 1644. This date is given in a chonogram at the end of the second book in which he answers an imaginary enquiry of the reader for information about the composition of the work. It runs :—

Hos ego DepInXI LIbros qVanDo angLIa beLLo
CIVILI CVnCtos terrVIt; et LatVI

(" These books I inscribed during a time when civil war was a terror to everyone and I lay in hiding "). Had Alford spent his fifteen years in England merely collecting materials for these two volumes, the achievement would be remarkable enough. But he already had one book to his credit; and, moreover, from 1634 to 1641 (possibly to 1646) he was Rector of the " College of the Immaculate Conception "—*i.e.*, in charge of an average of a dozen men working in the counties of Leicestershire, Derbyshire, Rutland and north Nottinghamshire, with his headquarters at Neville Holt. We are told that he " worked strenuously for the improved estate of Catholicism."[4] He was personally responsible for the conversion of Mrs. Turner (née Elizabeth Chesheldine), with her two sons, who became Jesuits and victims of the Oates persecution, Anthony dying at Tyburn and Edward in Newgate. As Rector he supervised the establishment of a school at Stanley Grange, Derbyshire, where " the sons of divers persons of quality were brought up contrary to the laws of the

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[1] Foley: Vol. VII, pt. 2, pp. 1195–1196.

[2] Carrying an *Imitation of Christ*, he was arrested before landing at Dover, where a close watch was being kept against the entry of Richard Smith, the Vicar Apostolic. When the Government were satisfied that he was not the bishop, he was released without difficulty at the intercession of Henrietta Maria.

[3] This is probably the " liber " referred to and warmly praised by the General, Father Mutius Vitelleschi, in a letter to Alford, December 23, 1642, cf. Arch. Prov. Ang., Epist, Gen. II (1), f. 11 b. It is commonly stated to be his second work, " The Admirable Life of Saint Winefride " (1635) being attributed to him. This book, a translation of a popular twelfth century " life," was published under the initials " J. F.," which Cressey interpreted as " John Flood," asserting that Alford used this name as a second " alias." There is no reason why the book should not be allowed to John Flood himself; in fact, he made a speciality of translating saints' " lives."

[4] Editor's Preface to the " Annals."

kingdom."[1] More than once Alford's success brought the pursuivants on his heels; two or three of his priests were imprisoned, and he himself was driven back into a hiding hole.

How, then, and where did Alford write his Annals? This is very largely a mystery. One or two conjectures have been, or can be, made. There is a tradition in the English Province S.J. that he worked at Combe in Herefordshire; but there is nothing to bear this out.[2] A sentence of the anonymous author of the *Florus Anglo-Bavaricus* is suggestive.[3] "Although," he writes in a short account of Alford, "he used to hide himself away in libraries (*he had for certain searched all in England*), yet he was ever at the service of his neighbour in his needs." The writer may have had good ground for this statement. Alford himself, in his Preface, seems to support it when he remarks that, for thirty years, he was "cut off by sea and sword from library sources," and that during this time he had hoped that another would come forward to undertake the work. Presuming that he did get access to these sources on his return to England, the first library in which he would have "hid himself away" was that of Sir Robert Cotton in Westminster. This was a private collection, but the best furnished in the kingdom. Ussher, who used it for his "Antiquities," considered it of greater service to the historian of the British Church than all the other libraries of England put together. A glance at the immense number of books that Alford cites in his first volume alone almost forces one to the conclusion that he worked there. If, as seems probable, he took less than two years over the Annals of the *British* Church, then surely he must have had all, or most, of his authorities accessible in a single place—*viz.*, Cotton's library. The fact that Alford and Ussher, to a very large extent, cite the same works helps to strengthen this suggestion.

As a priest and Jesuit, Alford would not necessarily have been debarred from the library. Father Augustine Baker, O.S.B., made it a second home when he was collecting materials for the *Apostolatus Benedictorum in Anglia* (1626), and discussed points of historical interest with Selden, Camden, Cotton himself and Ussher, as well as with another Catholic priest who used to resort there.[4] It would have been easy for Alford to get an introduction into this group. His own *Britannia Illustrata* would of itself have been sufficient recommendation to such a sincere

[1] Domestic, Charles I vol. ccxciv. n. 74, 1635. Raided by the Government in 1635, the school was reassembled in the following year "in a more unobserved and remote locality." For the brief but exciting history of the school cf. Foley, Series 3, part ii, p. 312.

[2] The library there was not very large. It was eventually seized and taken, in "several horseloads," to Hereford Cathedral, where it remains to-day: it consisted largely of theological and ascetical works, which would have been of little use to Alford. Cf. Foley, Vol. IV, pt. 1, p. 462 sq.

[3] The strange title is explained by its dedication to the ducal house of Bavaria, which gave the funds for the foundation and upkeep of the house of theology at Liége. The book is a useful record of the work of the men who passed through the house.

[4] Father Augustine Baker: C.R.S., 33, pp. 111–113.

circle of antiquaries. If anything further was needed, Father Baker may have supplied it; for his second sojourn in London occurred just at the time that Alford was (presumably) starting on his Annals.[1] Family connections may also have helped. Father Baker had a nephew in the Society, while Ussher had two cousins, Peter and William Stanihurst. When busy on the "Antiquities," he had appealed to his uncle, Richard Stanihurst, a secular priest at Louvain, for the loan of certain rare works in the library there, and had promised to make "full recompense of courtesy in the same kind" to "any of our countrymen studious of such matters."[2] The respect, moreover, with which Alford treats the writings of Ussher and Selden hints at an indebtedness to these men. Even when differing from Ussher, he admits the good points of his reasoning and seems to go out of his way to commend his research. There is much, therefore, to support the conjecture that Alford worked in the shelter of Cotton's library.

It is likely that Alford left London on the outbreak of the Civil War: he would by then have finished his first volume. For the second and subsequent volumes he required a very different set of sources: chronicles, papal bulls, letters and lives of saints, etc.—the kind of documents with which any of the larger medieval monasteries would have been equipped. There is good reason to believe that Alford found these sources at Shirburn Castle, the moated manor house near Watlington, Oxfordshire, at that time the seat of the Chamberlaynes, a well-known Catholic family. In the course of his remaining three volumes, Alford cites between forty and fifty times the "Liber de Hyda" (or "Annals of Winchester"), the only complete manuscript of which was discovered at Shirburn in 1861.[3] The book is likely to have been there in the seventeenth century; for when Thomas Parker, first Earl of Macclesfield, purchased the castle in 1716, a large collection of manuscripts came into his hands[4]—probably Sir Edward Chamberlayne's share in the plunder of the monastic houses of Oxfordshire.[5] It is, moreover, convenient to place Alford at the castle for part of the time he was working on his Annals, since from here he could have ridden into Oxford to consult the library of Sir Thomas Bodley. When parliamentary troops made the district unsafe, he probably "lay in hiding" (et LatVI) at Shirburn with access still to his main sources.

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[1] ib. p. 2.

[2] Richard Parr: *Life of Archbishop Ussher* (1686). Parr places this Letter first in an Appendix of some three hundred letters. There is no means of dating it.

[3] For a full history of the MS. cf. Edward Edwards, *Liber de Hyda* (Rolls Series, Vol. 45): Introduction, passim.

[4] They now form part of the "Macclesfield Collection" in the British Museum. As the first Earl was a keen collector of books, it would be impossible to distinguish them from those that he acquired in other ways.

[5] The names of three grand-children of Sir Edward Chamberlayne appear in the list of "Catholiks in Inglonde, 1574" (C.R.S. 13, p. 102). For the misfortunes of this "large, widely spread and stanchly Roman Catholic family" cf. Edward Edwards, *Libraries and Founders of Libraries*, p. 329.

The third and fourth volumes occupied Alford from 1644 (the date at which the second was completed) to his death in 1652. The " troublesome times " and one visit, at least, to the Continent would help to explain why he took twice as long to produce the second part of his work. There is a brief entry in the Pilgrim-Book of the English College, Rome, stating that " Father Michael Alford dined here " on December 12, 1649.[1] This was on the eve of the first meeting of the sixth General Congregation of the Society; Alford, presumably, was one of the delegates of the English Province and would have remained in Rome till the close of the Congregation on February 23, 1650. In March this year he was at the College at Madrid.[2] He could not have been back in England much before the end of April. In March, two years later, he left the country again, this time to prepare his Annals for the press. Reaching St. Omer's, " a lingering fever seized him . . . and undermined his decayed natural strength."[3] He died at his " Alma Mater " in the arms of his old friend, Father Henry More, on August 11 the same year.

During his years in exile, Alford had seen " the Lady Faith . . . mauled and torn most cruelly." On his return to England he had set himself " to display her unhurt and unsullied amid the filth of superstition and the rottenness of heresy ".[4] The work he produced entitles him to a place among the greatest ecclesiastical historians of his century.

P. G. Caraman

[1] Foley: Diary and Pilgrim Book, p. 640.
[2] English College at Madrid (C.R.S. 29), p. 290.
[3] Cressey, Preface to *History of Brittany*.
[4] Alford's Preface: Vol. I.

IN MEMORIAM: MARY T. HAYDEN

Died 12 July 1942

BY PROFESSOR MARY M. MACKEN, M.A.

MARY HAYDEN is at rest after eighty years of a life more than ordinarily varied and active even for a university woman. The only daughter of a distinguished Dublin physician she escaped the necessity of applying herself to teaching immediately after her graduation in the Royal University in 1884. She was free to proceed to an Honours M.A. in modern languages and to a Junior Fellowship in English and History, a distinction to which, before then, women had neither aspired nor attained. A fortunate pioneer, she could indulge, while still in her twenties or early thirties, the urge for wider study and travel which led her into Greece, India and America. Her sojourn in these countries would have had the same character as that of an intellectual man of her time, for she was an intrepid traveller. She remained an eager one and later revisited Greece, leading a party of men students and friends there in the early years of her U.C.D. professorship. America she also saw again later when she went on a lecturing tour—a marked success. It was during the early travels that she added Modern Greek, Hindustani and Sanskrit to the usual repertory of the then graduate in Arts.

I think Mary Hayden's "Wanderjahre" were over when I was a private student of hers for a brief period in 1900. I read a course of English Literature with her. It struck me then—I may have been wrong, I was very inexperienced—that she had little emotional reaction to "belles-lettres," but she had a great grasp of ideas. Though her reading was wide and deep she never allowed herself to be caught up in detail however picturesque, and the view she presented of periods and movements was clear and balanced. I found her detached mastery of men and matters a great help. As for my personal contacts with her during that time, I was struck by her deprecatory attitude to herself and her learning, her absolute naturalness, the amazingly low money-value she put on her time, and her unfailing interest and kindness. A pioneer woman in the sphere of Higher Education, she was enthusiastic for all of us aspirants. I cannot forget the personal warmth of her welcome to me on the day that I first donned a gown for Conferring. Women graduates were few then, and each newcomer was like an addition to her family.

I am not competent to speak on Mary Hayden as an historian. Despite her able handling of the History of Literature, I somehow feel that she would always be more at home in History. Whatever the errors of the

" Hayden-Moonan " presentation of recent history, I cannot imagine that she was other than an excellent exponent of her subject. In the judgment of our own time she was conservative. Evolution rather than revolution would be her watchword ; violence in any sphere was foreign to her nature. Always frank and fearless in the expression of her views, she cheerfully accepted the consequences—often grievous—of others' disagreement with her. She was, down to the very end, an able and distinguished writer of English prose. I have been told that one of the best papers she ever read was given to the Old Dublin Society (on Children's Institutions in Dublin in the eighteenth century) a few weeks before she died.

Mary Hayden was a telling and striking public speaker. Without " accent " of any kind, her voice was clear and pleasant. She never indulged in rhetoric, never made an appeal to the gallery, was always true to her theme and to herself. Her mind was well stored with relevant matter, her style was witty and incisive, and her memory was good. One was always sorry when she made an end and that is, I imagine, the best compliment one could pay to a speaker. On the few occasions when I heard her read formal addresses—as on Travel Experiences or on Pioneer Women whom she had known—I was struck afresh by her power and her distinguished culture. She had a penetrating gift of analysis and a remarkable clearness of observation allied to an interesting and forthright method of presentation. She was at her very best with an appreciative audience.

It was not, I often think, wholly to her advantage that she was such an attractive speaker. She was inevitably in demand and she gave herself without stint to Women's Causes. Associations of all kinds staked their claim and drew her away from intellectual harvests that she was so well fitted to garner. Though I know that Mary Hayden's side of Committee Work—intellectual propaganda—was an inspiration to many young women who are now doing excellent social service, such work tends only too often to be soul-destroying. I always felt that she sought and found a necessary counterbalance in her personal service to poor children. For them she founded a Club for which she—characteristically—chose St. Joan of Arc as patron. Her colleagues know how motherly was her care of those children, how jealously she warded off any suggestion of patronage in dealing with them, how zealously she embraced the welfare of whole families in that of the children. Not only did she write—for them to act—plays on their own St. Joan, etc., and teach them their Prayers and Catechism. That might fairly be expected of a Doctor of Literature both learned and saintly. She was also maker of puddings, baker of cakes and cutter of clothes for a whole succession of them ! No labour was deemed by her too lowly where they were concerned. And on that bleak Saturday in July when facing inexorable death, she whispered to

her Doctor that she still had work to do, it was the children's club to which her thoughts turned. As another woman, standing beside the coffin in University Church and seeing the Club children and their mothers pressing round it, said to me : " They are her passport to Heaven."

Professor Mary Hayden has gone, and we are all—whether we know it or not—the poorer for her going. She was that rare and precious thing—a great Christian personality—impressing herself indelibly on the movements of her time. Many of these—such as Women Suffrage, Gaelic League, Higher Education for Women, Women Graduates, Women Citizens, etc.—she led with conspicuous if quiet success. All her life she preached and practised a gospel of work for her sex—no less a work than full co-operation in all the business of living. That and nothing less, she held, was the right of every human being. Women should have that right if she could do anything about it. Her conception of Rights implied for herself inexorably and for us all a full measure of duties—and not only in the home. I cannot imagine that she ever had much use for the sheltered life. Her body she accustomed to fatigue. She was a hardy cyclist and a capable swimmer, though she was well over seventy before she learned to dive. But she did it ! An ardent feminist, she was no crank. She sought and liked the company of intellectual men, who, in their turn, always made her welcome, savouring the salt of her conversation.

On the rare occasions when I saw Mary Hayden stirred to passionate protest, it was because of some injustice done or intended to women and their cause. Some nonsense may be talked now and again in favour of Women's Rights. It is certain that a great deal of sham and shoddy reasoning has been urged against them. Nobody was better fitted than Mary Hayden to explode such fallacies. She did it without fear or favour. In herself she was the exemplar of the ideals of this movement which she had made peculiarly her own. Her ruling passion was service. If it could not be among the leaders, why not in the ranks ? Place meant nothing to her.

In work Mary Hayden's life was consumed like a flame. It was public work, for it had to be. Her many gifts were for the world to see ; the gift of gifts that she had was to hide herself behind them. And the piety in her soul—that was the hidden private thing of which we were all conscious and of which, in deep reverence, we keep the memory in silence.

MARY M. MACKEN

ROSCREA AND A CENTENARY

Convent of the Sacred Heart 1842–1942

BY STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

IN June of this year there was celebrated in the town of Roscrea, Co. Tipperary, the centenary of the foundation there of the convent and college of the Sacred Heart. For the best part of a week not only the convent but the town was *en fête*. The streets and principal buildings were decorated with flags and bunting; there were solemn religious ceremonies at which the Bishop of the diocese—Killaloe—presided; the clergy from all the surrounding districts were present in great numbers; addresses were delivered by members of several religious orders; congratulatory messages came from many quarters at home and abroad; a *Centenary Souvenir* was issued and widely distributed. The Nuns on their side generously entertained their visitors, pupils past and present, sodalities, the townsfolk. In short the occasion was marked by the doings and ceremonies usual on such occasions.

Indeed the event might at first sight seem to be of purely local and temporary interest. But a reading of the history of the convent and an all too brief visit to Roscrea have led me to a different conclusion, and I venture to think that these few notes on Roscrea and its convent, as constituting a fair sample of the vicissitudes of the Church in Ireland, may be of interest to readers of this Review not in this country only but elsewhere.

The story of the convent can be told here only in barest outline.[1] The history of the present community began in a sense in 1842, but before that date it had what we may perhaps call a pre-history which began in 1823. In that year the Parish Priest of Roscrea, Father O'Shaughnessy, appealed to the Brigidine convent in Mountrath for some Nuns to teach the children of the parish. Only two could be spared. Like most religious foundations in Ireland the beginnings of this new convent were very humble. The Nuns took up residence in a little house in Rosemary Street indistinguishable from its neighbours. This proving too small, they moved successively to two other houses of much the same type, each a little larger than the last. But even the third house was soon felt to be too small for the growing community and its pupils.

From the windows of their convent in Limerick Street the Nuns had a view of the long wooded hill that dominates the town on the south. On it was the residence of a Protestant gentleman, a Mr. Smith. To hope

[1] For fuller particulars the reader is referred to the *Centenary Souvenir*.

for such a house seemed like crying for the moon. But Mother Teresa MacMahon, the heroine of this part of the story, felt confident that it would one day be theirs. And the event did not belie her confidence; for, by a wholly unlooked for combination of circumstances, it came into their hands in 1832. This was, in more ways than one, a decided rise in the world, and for the next ten years the community and its school (now a boarding college) prospered in their new home.

Then a change, very unusual in the history of religious communities, took place. It came about in this way. In those days French was held to be (would that it were still so considered !) a *sine qua non* of a secondary education. In 1841 Mother Agnes Hughes, who taught French to the senior classes, died and Mother Teresa was at a loss how to replace her. She wrote to the Rector of the Irish College in Paris, and he in his turn consulted Mother Goold, an Irish Nun in the Convent of the Sacred Heart. Mother Goold, hearing of the smallness of the community and of its difficulties, enquired if the Nuns would be willing to join the Society of the Sacred Heart which had been founded by Madame Barat in 1801. The suggestion and the response it met with in Roscrea was not in reality so strange as it might seem to us. The Brigidine congregation (though there is no suggestion of any relaxation of its religious observance) was at this date in a state of transition and was not finally approved in Rome till many years later. Accordingly the transference to a new obedience of the community at Roscrea was not regarded as a defection from its former congregation. Anyhow on May 14, 1842 Mother Goold and Mother Croft arrived in Roscrea from Paris and founded the first convent of the Sacred Heart in the British Isles.[1] Mother Barat, whom we now know as St. Madeleine Sophie, was still alive and may be regarded as the foundress of the convent.

Since then the college has continued to develop. Like so many convents and colleges in Ireland, it had begun with a private residence which had to be adapted to its new purpose. New wings or extensions had to be built in 1844, 1854, and others at intervals—the latest being that of 1930. As might be expected, the result is architecturally not very happy, each extension being in a different style. But on the other hand the college thereby kept pace with modern requirements, and every amenity and convenience was provided for the pupils. There is a beautiful chapel, a fine auditorium, a roomy recreation hall, libraries, music rooms, science rooms, an infirmary, etc., etc. The situation and surroundings are delightful. A wood, with magnificent trees and winding paths, slopes down towards the town. Well-kept gardens, paths, and lawns surround the house, which is at the summit of the hill, while to the south tillage fields stretch away towards Carrick Hill in the background. There

[1] Convents have since been founded at Armagh, Dundrum (Mount Anville), and Leeson Street, Dublin, and several in England and in Scotland.

are one hundred boarders, and in the primary school attached to the college there are upwards of three hundred pupils.

All this must appear commonplace enough. Yet it appears to me to have a two-fold significance as typical of what is happening elsewhere in Ireland, thus representing certain phases of our religious history. In the first place it meant the introduction into Ireland of a very noteworthy educational body with a peculiar spirit of its own and ideas of its own on the training of Catholic girls. What that spirit and those ideas are has been well set forth by one of the most remarkable of the Mothers-General of the Society, Mother Janet Erskine Stuart, in her books *The Education of Catholic Girls* and *The Society of the Sacred Heart*. I have had before me a detailed Plan of Studies drawn up in 1869 by the Conseil des Etudes of the Congregation which gives one the impression that, far from contenting themselves with mere instruction, the Nuns of the Sacred Heart set before them in their educational work very high religious, moral, and intellectual ideals. Nor do they, in the education they impart, neglect national ideals. Those who have read the life of Mother Forbes of Craiglockart will remember what an ardent Scotswoman she was. Similarly Mother Mary Walsh of Roscrea was noteworthy for her enthusiasm for the " Irish Ireland " movement. The Irish language is taught in the Irish convents of the Sacred Heart and, for aught I know to the contrary, as efficiently as elsewhere. But the first place is given to the moral and religious training of their pupils.

This centenary has, I suggest, a further significance as typical of the gradual resurgence, not to say emergence, of Catholic Ireland. The Reformation stripped the Church in Ireland of all its temporal possessions. Protestant bishops were intruded into its sees and took possession of its cathedrals; Protestant ministers were installed in its parishes and occupied its churches. Not a single pre-Reformation church is in Catholic hands even to-day.[1] All its religious houses were suppressed; all its schools were closed. But that was not enough. With the Williamite régime came a code of laws which not only forbade the erection of any place of worship or the opening of any school, but proscribed the very exercise of religion as practised by our people since the days of Patrick. In the words of Burke, himself a Protestant, it was " a code as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a feeble people, and for the debasement in them of human nature itself as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man." It would be easy to quote to the same effect such sterling Englishmen as Dr. Johnson, Lord Macaulay, and Sydney Smith, and Irish Protestants such as Lecky.

And so, when towards the close of the eighteenth century the Penal Laws began to be relaxed, the Church in Ireland had to start, as it were, from scratch. Somebody has called the Church *l'éternelle recommenceuse*.

[1] The Black Abbey in Kilkenny is, perhaps, an exception.

There must be in Ireland districts not a few in which the principal phases and vicissitudes of our religious history through fifteen hundred years may be traced in existing remains and living traditions. Roscrea is certainly one of them. Its story begins (so far as the records go) in the early seventh century with the successive foundation by St. Cronan of monastic settlements at Sean Ross and at Roscrea itself. These two sites are easily identifiable to-day. On the former are the ruins of an abbey of later date.[1] The latter is occupied by a Round Tower, an extremely archaic standing cross, and the façade of a twelfth century monastery dedicated to St. Cronan. The Round Tower is a memorial of the Danish invasions of the ninth to the eleventh centuries, for it served as a place of refuge for the monks and their sacred vessels.[2] It stands isolated at the side of the road which has been driven through the former cemetery. The beautiful old Romanesque façade of the monastery is in the grounds of the Protestant church, which in 1812 was built with the stones of the ancient ruin. Many of our oldest religious sites are in the possession of the Church of Ireland.

Not far from Sean Ross and possibly still more ancient is the monastic site of Mona Incha on what was once an island in a lake. Its history stretches from about 600 to 1650—first the Columban monks, then the Culdees, followed by the Canons Regular.

The Cromwellian soldiery put an end to it in 1650 by slaughtering the few remaining monks. All that still exists is a roofless chapel, with a beautiful doorway of Romanesque sculpture, and portions of an older building. It looked desolate indeed amid its marshes on the rainy afternoon of my visit.

The next building in date to St. Cronan's Abbey is the great Norman Keep built in 1281. It was a castle of the Butlers, Earls of Carrick; and though not a religious foundation, it is a monument of that phase in our history during which the Anglo-Normans, Catholics like ourselves but still intruders, settled among us and built their strongholds throughout the land. Then there is the Franciscan Friary built in 1492. It might well have been, like so many others, an Anglo-Norman foundation, but in fact was due to the Gaelic lords of the district, the O'Carrolls of Ely. Little did its builders think that in fifty years or so it would be suppressed and the Friars scattered. A very fine tower sixty feet high and roofless transepts are all that remain of it. In 1911 a pilgrimage of some seven thousand members of the third order of St. Francis came to visit the spot and Mass was once more celebrated within the abbey walls. The Franciscans have never returned to their old home, but instead there stands a few miles from the town the modern Cistercian abbey of St. Joseph's.

[1] Portions of it date from before 1050 A.D. The building is now on the property of an institution conducted by the Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary.

[2] Roscrea was in fact twice raided by the Danes in the tenth century and, in later centuries, many times by the Irish themselves.

Like that of the Sacred Heart Convent, the history of this abbey is one of continuous progress. Its nucleus, like that of the convent, was the mansion of a planter family. This house came in 1878 into Catholic hands and the new owner, Count Arthur Moore, presented it to the Cistercians. On St. Patrick's day in that year thirty-three monks came from Mount Melleray. Since then a church (finished in 1881) and a monastery have been erected. A fine college, the new chapel of which is at present nearing completion, was opened in 1905. A guest house has been built and the church has recently been completed by a spire.

But this is anticipating. We must go back for a moment to the Penal Days. Just inside the convent grounds, near where a new gate has been made in the wall, a place is pointed out where Mass was said while a look-out was kept from the hill on the other side of the road. The next stage was a little chapel in a lane off Limerick Street, still known as Chapel Lane. Then about 1829 a mean little building was erected (or adapted) within the grounds of the Abbey to serve as a temporary chapel. Finally in 1846 the present Church was begun. It is a fine Gothic building which was highly praised by Bentley, the architect of Westminster Cathedral.

Parallel with this resurgence of our religious institutions has been the gradual, if very slow, rise since the mid-eighteenth century in the economic, educational, and social status of our Irish Catholic people who, despite persistent efforts at proselytism and the weakness of a few, still form some 93% of the population in the twenty-six counties and about 40% in that artificial entity " Northern Ireland."

But if the celebration of our religious centenaries reminds us of the low estate from which we have arisen, of the Penal Laws and all they stood for, it is also well to remind ourselves that these are " old, unhappy, far-off things," and that for nearly a hundred and fifty years our clergy and religious orders have carried on their activities unmolested by the State, whereas in many countries of Europe—Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, and Germany—the religious congregations have at various times been suppressed, their members dispersed or driven into exile, their schools closed, their goods sequestrated or nationalized (polite terms for robbery)—and that by their own native governments. It may be that we in Ireland are a little too prone to brood over the past without reckoning our full assets in the present, or looking hopefully and resolutely to the future.

STEPHEN J. BROWN

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF WILLIAM PRESTON 1753-1807

BY CHRISTOPHER PRESTON

THE second part of the eighteenth century was just commencing when William Preston was born in the Parish of St. Michan's Dublin, the son of William Preston of Dublin and Angel Archdall of Fermanagh. The first part of the century had been an exceedingly harsh era for the great bulk of the people, and wisdom, tolerance and justice were not the guiding principles of the then government. It is true that Dublin had produced, amongst others, the patriotic Dr. Lucas and the great Dean of St. Patrick's. But men like these were few. The latter part of the century saw a change, and the city that we know grew up. For some time William Preston, born in 1753, went to a school kept by a Doctor Campbell, and in 1766 he was admitted as a pensioner at Trinity College. Here apparently he highly distinguished himself, for we learn that he obtained a premium at every quarterly examination. He took his degree in 1770 and three years later his M.A. Early in 1774 the Provost died, and the government decided to put in their own nominee as his successor. John Hely-Hutchinson (1724-1794), one time soldier and at this time a lawyer, was undoubtedly a man of many abilities, but his claims to academic learning and distinction were scanty. In practically every case the Provost before his elevation had been a fellow, and the appointment of Hely-Hutchinson, as may be imagined, was not looked on with favour by the fellows, scholars or students. Amongst other innovations introduced by the new Provost was dancing, and it was for this reason that the title of " Prancer " was accordingly bestowed on him. Soon after his appointment, anonymous fugitive pieces began to make their appearance at fairly frequent intervals, and in 1775 they were gathered together and published as *Pranceriana*.

The twenty-one-year old William Preston was one of the contributors to this series ; using the pen-name of Charidemus, he addressed a number of letters to his friend Hipparchus the Provost. This correspondence began in the last months of the year 1774 and continued for about three months. The following is an extract from the number dated the 30th of December 1774 : " Bustling, forward, assuming, and loquacious you rose to honours not by superior genius—your pleadings, your oratory in the Senate prove the contrary ; not by professional knowledge—there you are notoriously shallow and impotent ; not by the talents of business—let your conduct in your new station speak for itself ; but by your vanity as infinite in its pretences as it is impudent in maintaining them. The

firmness of your voice, your boldness in pronouncing, and unblushing defence of error bullied men into an half acknowledgment of your abilities ; and while you seemed so perfectly assured of your own merit, the world grew weary or ashamed of disputing the claim. Men are generally unkind to demands for fame and honour ; their courtesy to yours was signal and lavish—it was your own task to prove it injudicious."

William Preston had already presented himself at a fellowship examination, but there had been five candidates for the one vacancy and he had not been successful. He now decided to make a second attempt. The Provost, who had become greatly incensed as a result of the almost weekly satires directed against him since his appointment, was determined to make things difficult for all those concerned. Rumour had it that William Preston had been one of the principal contributors ; hence the Provost determined to prevent him gaining a fellowship at all costs. The means he employed to achieve this end are set out in *Lacrymae Academicae or the Present Deplorable State of the College*, a book published in 1777 by Dr. Patrick Duigenan. Dr. Duigenan was a fellow and in deadly opposition to Hely-Hutchinson ; much therefore that he says must be taken with reserve. At all events, William Preston did not succeed in his attempt to embark on an academic career, and he now decided to take up Law. He accordingly studied at the Middle Temple and at the King's Inns and was called to the Irish Bar in Michaelmas Term 1777. Some years later he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Appeals—an office he held until his death.

The couple of decades following saw the social, intellectual, and artistic life of Dublin at its height. The city, second only in size and importance to London in the Empire, was one of the principal cities of Europe—the centre of a Vice-Regal Court, the venue of the Irish Parliament, the seat of an old University. Irishmen of letters and artists were second to none ; the author of the *School for Scandal*, the most successful comedy of the time and according to Byron's view the finest comedy in the English language, was a Dublin man. The great architect Gandon was designing the plans for the Parliament House, the Custom House, the Four Courts and other magnificent structures. Richard Kirwan was achieving international fame as a scientist. Colonel Vallancey was doing much for the preservation and revival of the Irish language.

Amongst the resident nobility at this period were the Duke of Leinster, Lord Moira, and Lord Charlemont. The last-mentioned was one of the most versatile men of the time. A widely-travelled man, he preferred to live in his own country and spend his money encouraging native talent and industry. His house in Rutland Square was the centre of the intellectual life of the city, and we are told by his biographer, James Hardy, Member of Parliament, that he and William Preston were close friends : " To Lord Charlemont's library and society every man of letters,

when properly recommended, was entirely and unaffectedly welcome. Some of the heads of the university, or those who were connected with it, particularly so. Among others Mr. William Preston, a young gentleman of true poetical genius, very extensive erudition, and independent spirit ! " Hardy also sets out a letter from Horace Walpole, dated 1 July 1781, thanking Lord Charlemont for sending him copies of Mr. Preston's poems, some of which he had already seen " and did admire without knowing their author." The poems published up to date (1775) included : " Heroic Epistle to Mr. Twiss by Donna Teresa Pinna y Ruiz " and the " Heroic Answer of Mr. Twiss "—satires. These epistles were prompted by the publication of a tour in Ireland by Mr. Richard Twiss in 1775 containing some remarks that were not altogether complimentary to the country or its inhabitants.

A journey to London in 1777 inspired a poem entitled " 1777, or a Picture of the Manners and Customs of the Age." The author informs us that the poem was written on his first arrival in London : " Transplanted at once from the retirement, quiet, and simplicity of an academic life to the tumult, dissipation, and luxury of a vast and voluptuous capital city ; the contrast affected his imagination and most forcibly." This poem was followed in 1779 by " The Female Congress or Temple of Cotytto "—the produce of an idle week stolen from serious occupations. Then in 1780 came " The Contrast "—a comparison between England and Ireland.

About this time (1779) the patriotic and convivial society known as " The Monks of the Order of St. Patrick " or, as it was more commonly called, " The Monks of the Screw " came into existence—founded by Lord Chief Baron Yelverton. The Society was " a collection of the wit, the genius, and the public virtue of the country." According to Curran, the primary object of their association was to give Ireland a constitution and to nourish and diffuse among the people the spirit and intelligence which should render them worthy of the gift. Professed members of the Order consisted of members of either house of Parliament, barristers, and a certain number of other professional men. William Preston was one of their number from the beginning, and he found himself in the company, among others, of Lords Charlemont, Carhampton, Mornington, and Kingborough. The Patriot party in the House of Commons were represented by Henry Grattan, Denis Daly, George Ponsonby, Francis Hardy and many others. During Term time the " Monks " assembled every Saturday evening in their Convent in Kevin Street and always wore the habit of their Order, a black tabinet domino. A short Latin grace, " Benedictus Benedicat " and " Benedicto Benedicatur," was always said before and after Commons. Their activities must have been of considerable use in furthering the parliamentary and political effort to obtain the constitution of 1782. The year 1795, which saw the recall

of Fitzwilliam, finally dashed the hopes of the constitutional party to place the relations between Great Britain and Ireland on a proper and permanent basis. The efforts of these men unhappily did not succeed; circumstances were too much for them, and the events of 1798 and 1800 were the result. We hear no more of " The Monks of the Screw " after 1795.

Always maintaining his connection with literature, William Preston and a number of others had started in the University about the year 1779 a society which they called Neosophers. Their meetings, at which they read and discussed papers, were frequent. In 1786 these men and a number of others founded the Royal Irish Academy with Lord Charlemont as President and Richard Kirwan as Vice-President. From the first the Academy flourished, and three years after its foundation it consisted of 170 members representing Parliament, the University, the Professions, the Arts and the Sciences. From the first also it was divided into three sections: Science, Polite Literature, and Antiquities. William Preston was one of the most active members. In the Academy's first year he contributed to the literature section " Thoughts on Lyric Poetry " and an " Irregular Ode to the Moon." In the following year, a long essay on " Ridicule, Wit, and Humour " was his contribution. A number of years now elapse before we find him again figuring in the Transactions of the Academy, which all through this period abound with excellent scientific and literary work.

William Preston now turned his attention to the Theatre, and in the course of three years he published four plays—all of them tragedies, although most of the works of the contemporary Irish dramatists were comedies. A few years previously, the comedies of the Dublin-born dramatist Richard Brinsley Sheridan had been immediately successful and have held the stage ever since. Besides Sheridan there were John O'Keeffe (1747-1833), Kane O'Hara (1714-1782), Francis Gentleman (1728-1784), Charles Macklin (1697-1797), Robert Jephson (1736-1803) and others. With the exception of Robert Jephson, comedy had been their forte. Dublin, in the world of the theatre, was as flourishing as London. Preston's first play, " Offa and Ethelbert or the Saxon Princess," came out in 1791. Readers will remember that, in the days before the Norman Conquest, England was divided into a number of small kingdoms, rivalry and strife being usually the rule. The theme of the play, based on history, is an exciting one and a fairly common one both in ancient and modern times. Offa of Mercia, having betrothed his daughter Elfrida to Ethelbert of East Anglia, invites the latter to the festivities of his Court at Hereford. Whilst there a veritable Massacre of Glencoe takes place and Ethelbert manages to flee accompanied by Elfrida.

The next play is on a classical theme, *Messene Freed* (1793), and the author tells us in a postscript: " My education and course of studies have formed me to a predilection for the History of Greece and

Rome, and at this particular season every example of a brave people contending for freedom and struggling against insult and tyranny must strike the understanding and come home to the heart with peculiar force." The play deals with the conflict between the Lacedominians and the Messenians and the Oracle at Delphi and sacrifices. It was performed with success at the Theatre Royal, Crow Street, Dublin.

At this time men's attentions were concentrated on France ; the Revolution, which had begun in 1789, was now in full bloom. In the four years much had happened. Many of the early revolutionists had by now become disillusioned, if indeed they were alive to tell the tale ; under flags emblazoned with the words " Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity " the Revolutionary Tribunal was dispensing anything but Justice in the name of the people of France ; the National Assembly of France, cowed and afraid, had in January 1793 yielded to the extremists and allowed the execution of Louis Capet, the ci-devant Louis XVI. A play dealing with these topical tragedies was bound to appeal to the people of Dublin, and when later in the year William Preston published his *Democratic Rage* it met with immediate success. Three editions were called for in as many weeks, and one would have thought that the author would have benefited considerably. Unfortunately the law of copyright was not then in a satisfactory state. The manager of the Theatre where it was shown considered it as public property and put it into rehearsal without even consulting the author.

In between these plays another, this time dealing with the Gepidae and the Lombards, had come from his pen in 1792—entitled *Rosmunda or the Daughter's Revenge*. This play was full of melodrama. It is the story of the King of the Gepidae slain in battle by Alboinus, King of the Lombards. Alboinus had married Rosmunda, the daughter of the former foe. One day whilst at a banquet he sends for his wife and commands her to drink out of a cup made from her father's skull. Rosmunda, struck with horror, hurries away determined to be revenged. She tells the King's shield-bearer, Helmchild, of this and suggests that he should dispose of the King. Helmchild refuses to have anything to do with treason, but Rosmunda will not be put off her course and finally succeeds in manoeuvring Helmchild into a very awkward position—so awkward that he is faced with the alternative of either being put to death by the King or of killing him. Thus, while lying down after dinner one day, the King is surprised by Helmchild and others and done to death.

Yet another literary venture was embarked upon by William Preston in 1791. For a long time the Metropolis had felt the want of a public subscription library, and this want was largely met by the coming into existence in that year of the Dublin Library Society. Its first meetings were held in the house of the well-known Dame Street bookseller, Mr. Archer. Subsequently the society moved to Eustace Street and then

to spacious premises in D'Olier Street. One of the founders, William Preston became Vice-President. The Society continued to flourish until 1879, when it ceased as an independent organization—being in that year merged in the D'Olier Street Club. We are told that the Society's library was open from 10 a.m. until 5 p.m. and again from 7 p.m. until 10 p.m., that its lending library soon had twelve hundred subscribers, and that " in one apartment devoted to news and conversation is collected every daily and other periodical publication of merit that can inform or amuse."

Throughout this period Preston had written a number of poems, and these with the earlier ones and the plays (with the exception of *Democratic Rage*) he gathered together and, with a dedication to Lord Charlemont, had published by the Dublin firm of Graisberry and Campbell in 1793. In his preface the author says : " The poems in the following collection are on subjects so various that I find it impossible to methodize them. Something, however, of a systematic arrangement I have attempted. The first class consists of poems which have a satirical cast, or a moral or didactic tendency, and come nearest to the genius of sermons. To relieve the dryness of this division, I have subjoined light occasional pieces of an airy and sportive turn and short epistolary fragments. Then, as higher aim and dignity and written with much more care and attention, succeed sonnets, love elegies, and other amatory poems in various measures. From thence the transition to the climax is natural, to what I consider as more vigorous efforts of the poetical talent—lyric poems of considerable length and comprehensive plan. The gradation closes with dramatic pieces, and I have subjoined two epistolary poems by way of epilogue to the whole."

To return now to his activities at the Academy. During the last few years William Preston has preserved silence as regards reading papers of his own, but we may be sure that he was attending to his duties as one of the honorary secretaries. In 1796 he presented his essay on " The Natural Advantages of Ireland," and it won for him the special prize of fifty pounds offered by the Academy. For some reason or other it does not appear in the Transactions of the Academy until 1802 ; and the author, in re-editing it in that year, reminds us that six years have elapsed and that events of great moment have taken place in the meantime. Whilst many an economist might look askance at a work which is not teeming with figures and statistics, this essay on " The Natural Advantages of Ireland, the Manufactures to which they are adapted, and the best means of improving those Manufactures," to give the full title, is the work of a keenly intelligent and observant man. This lengthy essay surveys Ireland broadly and ranges from a discussion of various particular industries to a general consideration of the value of Protection, Bounties and Friendly Societies. Written so long ago as 1796 it is remarkable how fresh this essay remains ; how informative it is as to the state of the country at the time ; and how

shrewd and at the same time how patriotic the views of the author were. There is so much in the essay that is worth quoting, not merely for its historical or economic but also for its topical interest, that a perusal of its contents is recommended in preference to the quotation here of many extracts.

The author holds the view that there are two manufactures which, above all others, should take pride of place in Ireland—linens and woollens. Linens, because from the very moment the flax seed is put into the ground (and energetic farmers could even manage to save seed for future use) everything becomes the productive labour of the inhabitants of the country. The linen industry too has many satellites and can absorb countless numbers of workers of various descriptions. It is a complete fallacy to assume that the only centre of the industry was Ulster. Our author informs us that large quantities of coarse linens were exported from Dingle to Lisbon. In the Province of Connaught the industry was making rapid progress, and three great linen marts were flourishing in the towns of Westport, Castlebar, and Ballinrobe.

The woollen manufacture is particularly suitable to the country as, like linen, the raw material is obtainable locally. Sheep can be reared and maintained almost anywhere, and the mountainous parts of the country are very suitable. Moreover it is an industry in which plenty of employment can be given. We are told that Kilkenny produces a considerable quantity of blankets; that Carrick-on-Suir carries on the clothing branch of the woollen industry with considerable success; and that Rathdrum has already become a regular and well-established mart.

The glass and paper industries are also discussed. The former, we are told, has taken deep root in the country and is well deserving of the attention of the Legislature. Irish glass was at this time second to none and with some encouragement surely it would have continued to flourish to the present day. The author's views about the paper-manufacture are somewhat "dated" owing to the introduction of wood-pulp as such an important agent in the industry. Though in his day paper was not in demand to the extent it is now (the public did not then have the dubious blessings of being able to buy morning, evening and Sunday papers to improve their minds), it was of considerable importance. Protecting duties are not to be imposed on articles which are insufficient to supply consumption; and he instances the imposition of a duty of twopence per pound on imported paper so as to foster the native industry, though it was represented by the printing trade that production of native paper was wholly insufficient to supply the consumption.

Preston advocates a tax of a shilling in the pound on the incomes of absentees. This idea, though shared by most of the more enlightened of the time, is novel. In those days there was no such a thing as income tax in either Great Britain or Ireland. Taxpayers may thank the

Napoleonic Wars for its introduction. He is also in favour of beneficial and friendly societies. The weekly contribution would be a help in time of distress and would save members from the humiliation of being dependent on charity, which is so often patronizing and ostentatious. He asks if it is too much to expect that landowners in manufacturing districts should consent to receive a certain proportion of their rents in the various manufactures which are produced by the industry of their tenants?

Adam Smith was the recognized authority on economic matters in the last decades of the eighteenth century, and the theories he expounded in his *Wealth of Nations* became the *laissez faire* gospel of the nineteenth —and with the results we know. Some people had different views from Smith, and Preston was one of them, however diffident he was about presuming to contravert or criticise his opinions. "He [Smith] has dedicated his work exclusively to the consideration of the Wealth of Nations; and in conformity with the plan which his title indicates, he seems to have omitted the strength and the morality of nations as foreign from his purpose. These are certainly considerations distinct from the wealth of nations as well as of individuals, and surely more deserving of the care of an enlightened legislator. It may appear perhaps fanciful to say it, but in my opinion the very title of a profound elaborate book on the Wealth of Nations carries with it something injurious—something that induces error—inasmuch as it seems to denote that the attainment of wealth is the greatest object imaginable and should be the great motive and principle of national policy—the great spring of legislative interference. Dr. Smith seems to confine himself to the means of employing capital in the most profitable manner without entering into a variety of moral considerations which ought to have great weight when we come to revolve the subject of national industry and the mode and measure of encouraging and extending it."

Until his death William Preston continued to make his contribution to Academy proceedings, and a perusal of the "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy" from 1797 to 1806 will show the varied nature of his contribution. "Reflections on the choice of subjects for Tragedy among the Greek writers" is followed by "On the Choice of Subjects for Tragedy." We already know of his partiality for tragedy in play-writing. Next, in 1802, comes "Some Reflections on the peculiarities of style and manner in the late German writers whose works have appeared in English and on the tendency of their productions." In this essay the claims of Schiller as a dramatist are examined as well as his style, and of course Goethe figures prominently. Then follows an interesting essay on "Credulity" from which I should like to quote, if space were available. Finally, shortly before his death, came the two essays: "Some considerations on ancient amatory writers and the comparative merits of the three great Roman elegiac poets Ovid, Tibullus, and Propertius"

and " Are the origin and progress of the polite arts in any country connected with and depending on the political state of that country? "

In the autumn of 1802 Doctor Anderson, the well-known Edinburgh authority on all matters literary, was on a visit to Ireland; writing to his friend Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, from Eccles Street, he says: " My attention, however little, to literature has procured me the acquaintance of Mr. Kirwan, Dr. Hill, General Vallancey, Mr. Preston, Dr. Ryan, and many other learned and ingenious men, and invitations from Mr. Latouche of Bellevue, Countess of Moira, and others, which I have been obliged to decline as I expect to sail for Scotland to-morrow or next day." On his return to Scotland he again writes to the Bishop: " I am under obligations to the Dublin authors, editors, ect. for their publications, which filled two large boxes. Vallancey alone gave me nearly a score, transactions of the Dublin Society, County Surveys ect. Preston, a learned ingenius, and classical poet, is printing a version of Apollonius Rhodius, with two volumes of dissertations and notes."

In the following year, 1803, William Preston's edition of the *Argonautics* of Apollonius Rhodius was published in Dublin. This poem, which deals with the exploits of Jason and his companions, is translated from the Greek into English verse. In his preface the author points out that Apollonius Rhodius was never really popular with the modern reader—" indeed, even when he is remembered among the learned, he is usually introduced in the degrading attitude of a captive bound to the chariot and following the triumphal pomp of Vergil. He is chiefly known to the world by the vague reputation, the traditional merit generally taken on trust, that his loves of Medea and Jason are the groundwork on which Vergil has formed the fourth book of the Aeneid." And again: " The fact is that the Bard of Alexandria has been worse treated, considering his just pretensions and real merits, than any poet of antiquity, and furnishes a striking instance of the caprice of fortune and the uncertainty even of literary posthumous reputation."

No quotation from Preston's many poems has been made in these pages. Perhaps this is as well as they include every type of poem, some long and some short, so that to make anything like a suitable selection and a representative one would be a difficult task. Readers are referred to the edition of his poems in 1793, and we are told by Warburton in his *History of Dublin* that " the care with which the publication was superintended and the manner in which it was executed affords perhaps the best specimen of an elegant edition that ever issued from an Irish press. " In addition Preston had written many other poems, and after his death these were collected, edited and published by his widow in one volume in 1809.

Towards the end of the year 1806 Preston had sat a whole day in court in damp clothes and, on his return to his home in Gloucester Street,

found that he was very ill. This developed into a severe fever which proved fatal, and in the early days of January 1807 at the early age of 54 he died. Dr. Ledwich, the antiquary, writing to Bishop Percy of Dromore in February 1807, says: "The country has sustained a great loss in the death of Counsellor Preston. He got wet going to court and sat for some hours in that state, got a fever and died in about eight days. Dr. Anderson told me that he was the best classical scholar he met in Ireland. I have had many other proofs to confirm that judgment. Indeed no further evidence is necessary than his dissertations and notes to Apollonius Rhodius. He was a man of various accomplishments, which he advantageously displayed on many occasions. He has left a large family of seven children, with a small property of (I hear) about £300 a year. He married a daughter of the present Lord Carbery, who succeeded his brother the late Lord in the title."

Taylor in his *History of the University of Dublin* says of Preston: "He was a man of great literary attainments, with a well-cultivated mind, abundantly stored with classic literature and, perhaps in his day, he was not surpassed by any of his contemporaries." In an account written of him in 1812 we read: "Preston was a man of great literary attainments; his mind was highly cultivated and richly stored with Roman and Grecian literature. It is probable that there was not a more elegant or accurate classical scholar in the United Kingdom. To this was added an extensive knowledge of modern languages and an intimate acquaintance with the poets and writers of his own and other countries."

William Preston was buried in St. Thomas's Churchyard, Dublin, and must not be confused with his namesake, William Preston the printer, who flourished between 1742-1818 and was not an Irishman. The latter, who was born in Edinburgh in 1742, had no connection whatever with Ireland and outlived by over ten years the Irish Commissioner of Appeals. Curiously enough, the fathers of these contemporaries were also called William.

The career of William Preston in Dublin was an interesting one, and the age in which he lived was one of greatness for his native city. From the time of his birth in 1753 the exertions of Dublin's men of letters were beginning to be felt in all directions. Dublin was at its peak from 1775 to 1795, and it was precisely during these twenty years that William Preston figured so prominently in its life of letters. The years following saw a general decline in the city's grandeur, and by the year 1807 decay had begun to set in. Fifty-four is an early age to depart from life; but, though much lamented by his family and friends, perhaps for Preston the Dubliner it was as well, for had he lived another decade or two his disillusionment would have been complete.

CHRISTOPHER PRESTON

REVIEWS

Biography

GREY EMINENCE. By Aldous Huxley. London : Chatto & Windus. 1941. 15s.

This book will have a double interest for many Catholic readers. Mr. Aldous Huxley needs no introduction, and there has often been argument in the past as to whether he is " on the side of the angels " or not in the general purpose of his writings. Here, in his first formal biography, he comes out openly and unexpectedly on the side of the mystics—not necessarily of the Christian mystics, for all mysticism appeals to him as an intensely personal search for God from out the depths of this mad world. In a concluding chapter on " Politics and Religion " he has some pregnant judgments on the present failure of our modern power-politicians : " Political reforms cannot be expected to produce much general betterment, unless large numbers of individuals undertake the transformation of their personality by the only known method which really works—that of the contemplatives. Moreover, should the amount of mystical, theocentric leaven in the lump of humanity suffer a significant decrease, politicians may find it impossible to raise the societies they rule even to the very moderate heights realized in the past." That is a judgment which may well be considered as at least a partial explanation of our modern Irish life and social problems—just as it can be applied more tragically to the social condition of the great belligerent states.

For Mr. Huxley has undoubtedly written this fine book with the grim tragedy of war before his mind from start to finish. Father Joseph, the " Grey Eminence " who was the master-mind in so much of Richelieu's international diplomacy, interests him as an astonishingly actual realisation of the great dilemma which faces all who would fuse religion and politics in a single life. The long chapters in which Mr. Huxley seeks to bring home to his readers the full horror of the Thirty Years War—that war which was fought so ostentatiously for the cause of religion and brought such lasting ruin to Europe as a whole—have a topical significance that is only too obvious. And the engravings here reproduced from Jacques Callot's series " Les Grandes Misères de la Guerre " make one shudder at the prospect of what may yet lie in wait for us modern Europeans. But this is no purposeless effort to shock our sensibilities. Mr. Huxley is deeply moved by the tragedy of war, and he seeks to bring home to us by his own brilliant pen and these reproductions from a brilliant French artist of the seventeenth century what exactly war meant to Father Joseph's contemporaries. From this to his central argument is but a short step. Father Joseph knew of these horrors in all their revolting detail. He had lived the life of the French camps, and he had travelled Europe on foot with a tireless energy which few of his contemporaries could equal—if indeed he had his equal on the roads of France and Spain and Italy. None the less, with relentless moral fervour, Father Joseph held to his main purpose. The war must continue that France's enemies might be weakened, that France might emerge as the unquestioned leader of European military power. Then at last a new miracle of God's power would be granted to Christian Europe : *Gesta Dei per Francos,* in the seventeenth as in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. And French chivalry would renew the old-time glory of the medieval Crusade.

Was it an idle, foolish dream ? Was it no more than the self-deception of a man who had persuaded himself that French hegemony was the necessary condition for a revival of the Catholic tradition in a triumphant Counter-Reformation ? Did Father Joseph foster this illusion as an escape from the appalling reality of his actual achievement ? These questions can only be answered by speculation as to the might-have-beens of human history. Had Mr. Huxley been content to speculate on these lines, his book would have been the brilliant essay one might expect from his pen—but no more.

At this point in his argument (for I am following not the order of his chapters, but what seems to me the order of his thought) Mr. Huxley embarks on a long disquisition on the technical side of Father Joseph's contemplative prayer. For this Capuchin diplomatist was, throughout a long and arduous active life, a conscious seeker for the peace of mind and heart that can be found alone in the enjoyment of God's presence in prayer. That Mr. Huxley is here at a disadvantage as a student of an unfamiliar science is obvious. The astonishing thing is rather that he has gone so far in his effort to master the traditional teaching of the Catholic mystics. Again and again, one is surprised to note how much he has read and how shrewdly he has mastered his subject on technical details. But, inevitably, he fails on the central theme. Christian mysticism is unintelligible without faith in the Incarnation of God in Christ. For Mr. Huxley mysticism is pure mysticism only when the human element has been wholly absorbed in the Divine or Ultimate Reality. Meditation on Christ's Passion and Death must—*ex hypothesi*—produce an inferior type of contemplative prayer ; and Father Joseph's failure is here represented as primarily due to the erroneous doctrines of an English Capuchin friar, Father Benet Fitch of Canfield, whose treatise on " The Rule of Perfection, reduced to the sole point of the Will of God," was published in 1610.

Father Benet's doctrine of prayer is undoubtedly derived in large part from the famous fourteenth-century English treatise " The Cloud of Unknowing "—and it differs from the doctrine of the anonymous mystic who wrote " The Cloud " precisely on this point, that Father Benet seeks to concentrate the aspirant's efforts at prayer on the loving contemplation of Christ's Passion and Wounds. To an outsider like Mr. Huxley such prayer must seem vastly different from the theocentric contemplation which he holds to be the ultimate hope for all human society. But an outsider can look at a very beautiful stained-glass window from outside, and find its gorgeous colouring dull and uninspiring. The worshipper within, who sees the glass through which the sun's rays are pouring, may judge very differently. Perhaps some day Mr. Huxley, whose profound veneration for sincere religious feeling is apparent in every page of this book, may one day, by God's grace, be himself a worshipper within. He may then regret some of the judgments which he passes so easily to-day, as a friendly but sharp-eyed critic from without. That Father Joseph, so far as we can judge him from his own written confessions and aspirations, failed to climb the heights to which he aspired, may be true enough. But his failure may have been due to a simple and obvious temptation, which St. Paul, great master of the mystics, has summed up in a memorable phrase : *Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis secularibus*. Father Joseph, as head of Cardinal Richelieu's secret service and Europe-wide spy-system, must often have sadly questioned himself on the uncompromising realism of that simple sentence.

A. G.

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE. Philosopher of Culture. By Frederick Copleston, S.J. Bellarmine Series, No. VII. London : Burns Oates. 1942. 8s. 6d. net.

THERE have been few more enigmatic figures in European literature than Nietzsche, and although both in the present and in the last war his doctrines have been constantly the subject of propagandist allusion, the number of those who can claim to have any real understanding of them must be very small. The author of the present work is professor of the history of philosophy at Heythrop College, Oxford. In his preface he insists that his book " is in no way designed as an introduction for Christians to the works of Nietzsche," but this insistence has obviously a special purpose. Father Copleston is convinced that Christians ought *not* to read such books as *Antichrist*, and there is indeed only very slight danger that even the strongest recommendations will induce many of them to do so. Nevertheless this clear,

candid, and very charitable account of Nietzsche's life and work will be found exceedingly valuable by Catholics seeking reliable information on a subject about which it is frequently needed and always hard to come by.

During the last great war the name of Nietzsche was often rather absurdly coupled with that of the nationalist Prussian historian Treitschke, perhaps for no better reason than that it is possible by great violence to make the two names rhyme. There could scarcely be a more complete contrast than that presented by their owners. Treitschke was the champion of the Hohenzollerns, the loud and eloquent prophet of the second Reich, standing in direct succession to the orators and poets of the *Befreiungskrieg*. Nietzsche, though he took part in the Franco-Prussian war, was a voluntary outcast from Bismarck's Germany; and for all the extravagance and confusion of his utterances on the coming of the Superman and the "holiness" of war, he represents a fundamental, if very Germanic, reaction from the materialism and "philistinism" of the Empire as conceived and created by Prussian statesmanship. In spite of Father Copleston's sub-title, he recognises quite clearly that it is really a misuse of language to call Nietzsche a philosopher. It is true that he regarded himself as one, and was pathetically eager to acquire disciples and found a school; but his complete failure to do so was very largely due to the fact that he had no coherent doctrine or system, but was much rather a kind of turgid poet, dithyrambic in the bad sense of the term, and incapable of consistency except in so far as a few vague general ideas were concerned.

Father Copleston's book has the appearance more of a series of separate papers skilfully put together than of a book composed as a unity. This is evident in a certain amount of repetition, so that the critic is tempted to apply to himself his remark that "Schopenhauer quotes more than once" a certain saying of Calderón. He tells the rather dismal story of Nietzsche's life with considerable—and welcome—detail. The professional philologist would perhaps wish for more about the famous controversy with the young Wilamowitz after the publication of *The Birth of Tragedy*, which Wilamowitz characterised as *Zukunftsphilologie*, and was retorted upon by his victim's friend Rohde with a still more derisory term. But it is doubtful if a better or fairer account of Nietzsche's career has yet been written. For the most part he has been lauded by his not very numerous admirers or denounced by philistines like the egregious Max Nordau. Incidentally, Father Copleston does well to remark in a rather cautious note that Frau Fôrster-Nietzsche's account of her brother's last phase—his eleven years of hopeless paralysed insanity—is very probably coloured by sisterly affection. Even in the details reproduced in this book, the beginnings of a curiously incongruous legend are fairly apparent.

From the full and well-documented study of Nietzsche's thought contained in this book one general conclusion may perhaps be drawn. Though he was no philosopher, such importance as he has lies in the fact that, in an age dominated as never before by self-satisfied materialism, he had a sound intuition of the true nature of culture, its growth and decay, and its relation to civilised life. In this he anticipated one of the healthiest tendencies in recent anthropological and historical writing, and probably more modern scholars are indebted to his ideas to a greater degree than they realise. Unfortunately, while in desperate reaction from his period, he was also its child. He detested David Strauss, but his own antichristian bias was an inheritance from the generation that had sat at the feet of Hegel and Feuerbach. As Father Copleston repeatedly emphasises, this bias became more and more a mania with him, and in some odd pathetic way he seems himself to have known that it was an aberration. It led to his breach with Wagner and to his rejection of his youthful idol, Schopenhauer. His alternative was the incoherent combination of belief in the coming of the Dionysian Superman with faith in the myth of eternal recurrence—a combination which reminds us forcibly of Marx's

simultaneous doctrine of dynamism and static Utopianism. If Nietzsche had been a Christian his insistence on the importance of aristocracy, of the genius, of struggle and conquest, might have merely symbolised something sound and right. Given his environment and origin, these ideas could only lead to madness and destruction.

M. T.

RICHARD II. By Anthony Steel. Cambridge University Press. 1941. 16s.

FEW kings of England have left so romantic a memory as Richard II, the boy-king whose presence in London quelled the Peasants' Revolt and the hero of Shakespeare's tragedy. Mr. Steel is conscious that he has set himself a severe task, and he has a disarming note in his preface, apologising for a book that he had wished to dedicate to the late Miss M. V. Clarke : " It falls too far short of what she herself would have written on the theme but for her tragically early death." There is indeed less here of the forceful, masculine criticism that makes the study of Miss Clarke's writings a joy to those who look for strong, consecutive argument and clear-cut thinking. Mr. Steel is very much more cautious in his approach, and indeed his caution is perhaps the main fault in a book that is obviously full of learning and thoughtful suggestions. Apart from an excellent opening chapter, in which he reconstructs the political background at the time of Richard's accession—it is the background also to many familiar scenes in Langland's *Piers Plowman*—this book suffers from the author's too conscientious effort to examine in detail every argument that has been put forward by modern students of English constitutional history. Richard's reign is divided systematically into its main periods, and the king's attitude towards the peasants, the appellant nobles, and the people as a whole is appraised in detail. But the book makes heavy reading, and there are moments when one sighs for the genial narrative of Froissart.

Mr. Steel is mainly concerned to examine the fundamental principles of the successful Lancastrian Revolution. " The hard fact remains," he states in a concluding sentence, " that medieval divine right was dead by 1400—smothered, or starved, in Pontefract castle—and that in spite of Henry and his sacred oil all through the blood and turmoil of the fifteenth century the battle would be to the strong and the race to the swift." Whig theory has dominated English history for so long that these simple truths have been obscured by a whole superstructure of so-called " constitutionalist " government. Even Shakespeare's hero speaks to us from a book of words that has been grievously emended by Tudor theorists, and it is only in recent times that the grim truth as to Richard's last hours and his alleged abdication have come to be accepted as replacing the legend that Shakespeare has transmuted into the very poetry of romantic history.

The Appellants, as they appear in the pages of this book, are indeed a forbidding crew—little concerned with theories of constitutional right and wrong, but very certain of their own will to rule in place of a king whom they sought to make impotent. Was Richard mentally abnormal ? Was his failure the tragic failure of a character that was doomed from the first to fail ? Or was he simply the helpless victim of an unworthy plot ? Mr. Steel is inclined to stress the psychological consequences of Richard's lonely childhood : the son of a father whose military prowess has made the name of " The Black Prince " familiar to all lovers of romantic history. " Richard was not a physical coward, but he was very probably a physical weakling, and the imposition from an early age of his father's standards of physical prowess as the sole avenue to distinction, must have weighed heavily upon him. . . . (He) was apparently being told that to be a great king he must be a great knight like his father ; he was physically incapable of becoming a great knight ; how then could he become a great king ? Yet a great king he was determined to be." It is an attractive but not too convincing picture. Yet there remains the memory of

that one great day when a young boy who had not lost courage rode out to meet Wat Tyler. Mr. Steel has an interesting suggestion to make at this point. Was the initiative due simply to the boy's instinct for the dramatic and his will to be a king in deed ? Or was there some counsellor at hand who had not lost his head in the general confusion, and who sensed the possibility of saving the kingdom by the unexpected presence of the boy-king ? He suggests the name of Sir Robert Knolles, a veteran soldier who had joined the distracted Council in the Tower just before the supreme moment of crisis. We may grant the probability of this suggestion ; yet the truth remains that the bold policy of that unarmed ride into the crowd of angry rioters was only possible on the assumption that the young boy of fourteen would hold firm and not lose his head at the last moment. How reconcile this gallant youthful figure with the broken, maundering king of Shakespeare's scenes ?

It is a pity that Mr. Steel has not given more space to the problems connected with Richard's expedition to Ireland in 1394. For Froissart's narrative, though no more than a tale told on second-hand authority, raises some very pretty problems of historical criticism ; and Miss Clarke has shown how closely the date of that visit is linked with the rapid development of Richard's extreme royalism in the last five years of his reign. We must only hope that some Irish scholar, following on the good work done by Professor Curtis twenty years ago, will some day find the clue to a puzzling episode in Anglo-Irish history. A. G.

Education

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION. By Rudolph G. Bandas, Ph.D., S.T.D. et M. In collaboration with Joseph J. Baierl, S.T.D., and Joseph Collins, S.S., S.T.D. New York : J. F. Wagner ; London : B. Herder. 1938. 10s. 6d.

Some years ago I read a book on the religious beliefs of the children of the proletariat in Berlin. As might be expected, it painted a fairly dark picture. Whether educated in confessional or state schools most of the children seem to have lost by their fourteenth year all belief in the reality of God, in the efficacy of prayer, in the hope of a future life. One chapter dealt with their memories of the catechism class. With scarcely an exception they complained of having to learn by heart pages of stuff which they neither understood nor cared for. If a similar catechism census were taken from Irish children a few years after they had left (say) the National School, I wonder if the general report would be much better ? And I wonder if the failures we hear of when these children leave Ireland and go to a virtually pagan country are not in large measure traceable to failure in effective catechism teaching, to a lack of " real assent " to the truths and precepts of the faith ?

It is to combat such purely " question and answer " methods of catechising that Father Bandas and his collaborators have produced their book. They admit the necessity of carefully defined and abstract statements as a safeguard against error, but they hold that the formulating of such a statement and the learning of it by heart should come, not as it does so often, as the first step in the teaching but as the resultant and summing up of a careful preparatory instruction. The child's knowledge proceeds " from the known to the unknown, from the concrete to the abstract . . . and from facts to definitions. . . . The proper object of the intellect is derived from sensible material objects. . . . When we examine the statements of the Catechism we find that they are abstract, terse and succinct, and that their language is not childlike. To oblige the child to memorise forthwith difficult theological formulas which the child can hardly pronounce, much less understand, is thoroughly unpsychological. . . . (The catechist) must supply

the concrete details which the Catechism in its brevity cannot offer. The catechism answer is much like a theological thesis deduced as a conclusion from a multitude of concrete arguments derived from the Councils of the Church, Scripture, Church History and reason." (p. 177).

The authors explain how Church History and the Bible, Liturgy, Hymns and Sacred Music may be used to bring home to the children what the Articles of the Creed mean, what the Commandments impose, what Grace and the Sacraments are. This first section of the book is most illuminating and contains an abundance of suggestions that the catechism teacher will be only too glad to learn of. A feature of this as of the following sections is the fine list of books, both practical and theoretical, which may aid the teacher.

That their ideas and suggestions are not simply the outcome of their own theorising is shown in the second section of the book. Here brief accounts are given of the various catechetical methods adopted during the past three hundred years. These include the method of St. Sulpice, the Stieglitz or Munich method, the Montessori method and the " Sower " method in England. While the accounts are necessarily brief, they indicate enough to encourage the teacher to examine them more fully, and even if he does not plump for any one of them he can learn a great deal of good advice and many useful practical hints from them.

The final section deals, again helpfully and clearly, with teaching in preparation for first Confession and Communion and for Confirmation. There is a chapter on those Cinderellas of religious instruction the natural virtues, in which the author suggests that it is possible to be both a Catholic and a gentleman, that it is not absolutely necessary that the heretic should have a monopoly of the graces. Finally there is a chapter, not too successful I am afraid, on training in chastity.

In an introductory chapter there is a summary of the history of catechising since the times of the Apostles. I noted two omissions here. Surely there might have been some mention, if not discussion, of the methods employed in Jesuit schools for well over two hundred years? Canisius and Bellarmine are mentioned of course, but not a word of how catechism was taught in the secondary schools of Europe up to 1800. Again, much more might have been said, even in such a brief résumé, of the wonderful work done by the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. It deserved more than a passing reference.

There seems to be a growing tendency in books of this kind, books dealing with the application of psychology to education I mean, to manufacture a new and often alarming terminology where simpler words would seem to be adequate. Here I noticed " catechization " (shades of " hospitalization " !) meaning " religious instruction." What was wrong with " catechising "? Again " catechetics " are defined (p. 2) as " the science which explains the rules to be observed and the aids to be used in the process of catechization." What then does the sesquipedalian " catechetical methodology " on p. 129 add to that? This is the sort of thing that worries Mr. A. P. Herbert so much.

Apart however from such trivial defects, this is an excellent book which may be recommended with confidence to all teachers of religious knowledge as a help in a subject that should be the heart of all education. S. O C.

PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION ACCORDING TO BISHOP DUPANLOUP. By Sister Mary Albert Lenaway, O.P., M.A. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1942. Pp. 172.

THE best-known exponent of the method of St. Sulpice in religious instruction was Bishop Felix Dupanloup. The present work is a dissertation on his position in the history of education in general. The author considers that no adequate account has yet been presented in English of his principles and methods, though

his heroic stand for the freedom of education in France has been duly acknowledged. She has examined in great detail his many writings on the subject—books, pamphlets, sermons and conferences—and has brought together in this work, first his general principles of education and secondly his practical application of them during the eleven years while he was in charge of the little seminary of St. Nicolas.

The author admits that Dupanloup's ideas are not original. That is certainly quite true. He says nothing that has not been said before (though not at such length) and his practical applications are remarkable only because we have in him a Catholic who admits the illiberal ideas of the school of Pestalozzi : that the lower orders must be content with a lower form of education (though he insists on calling it " liberal ") and must leave higher studies to those whose purses can afford it. (See page 100).

It seems to me that Bishop Dupanloup will be remembered not so much for the originality of his opinions as for his insistence, day in day out and in the face of most determined opposition, on a Christian education of the whole man at a time when the trend of thought in France was towards a secular and purely utilitarian training. Consequently I found the first portion of the book, the account of his endeavours for the freedom of education in France, by far the most interesting. While we must commend the painstaking and careful work of the author in deriving an ordered system from Dupanloup's various works ; it would perhaps have been at least as useful and, to the historian, more absorbing if she had endeavoured to trace the sources of his ideas. S. O C.

Fiction

NEVER NO MORE. By Maura Laverty. London : Longmans. 1942. 10s. 6d.

This is " the story of a lost village " somewhere in Kildare told by a woman who once lived in it and in a farmhouse close by. It is a record and a re-creation. Seen—as it must be—through the glasses of memory (Maura Laverty is now in Dublin with the responsibilities on her of wife and mother), it yet creates the illusion of youth in a way that is little short of miraculous. It differs from other autobiographical records of adolescence in that the crystallisation of her experience is not obvious. There is little sentimental retrospection or introspection—no narrating of the past in terms of the present. Though there is nostalgia, it is rather an undertone or overtone than a dominant. Indeed it is heard—apart from the moving final chapter—only in what seems to be an incidental rounding off of the tinker episode when the writer relates having been told that the fights of the Doyles and McCanns had lost much of their epic character. But she adds immediately that they could not have that anyhow since Rafferty is no longer there to watch them from the canal bridge—so directly does she re-live her experience—for the description of Rafferty is one of the striking episodes in the book and one in which imaginative vision lends terror and beauty to the village idiot. His death changed even then the character of the scenes in which he once took part.

For me the quality of this latest addition to our regional literature is its actuality in form as well as in content, its naiveté, its youthful vigour and directness, its spontaneity. It gives the impression of life experienced with élan. Part of its charm is that it implies no barrier interposed between emotion and expression. It is artless and yet it is art. There is no stylisation and there is—despite occasional jamming and interlocking—excellent storytelling. The episodes—it is a string of them—are human and everyday. These are simple folk in a setting that lends neither picturesqueness nor grandeur to their lives. There are no heights, no heroic-romantic otherworldliness. But there is no flatness. Everything stands out in relief. Though the mushroom pickers sense the magic of a summer dawn and

the girl is aware of the purple splendour of the bogland, her world is no dreaming solitude such as a poet predecessor of hers in Kildare, William Dara, gave us at the beginning of the century in " A Light on the Broom." Ballyderrig is a stage in which that wonderful woman Mrs. Lacy and her grandchild Delia play the lead, but which is crowded with other figures—not one a supernumerary. It is a narrow stage, but it is a broadly tolerant world—none-the-less so for being almost exclusively Catholic. Its Catholicism does not need insistence since it is the very form of the life so faithfully and lovingly portrayed. But it is as obvious as the community spirit of a life that has a definite folk-character and folk-value—as it has, despite occasional slang intrusions, an Anglo-Irish folk speech rich in Gaelic rhythms and Gaelic turns of phrase.

The book well deserves the preface written for it by Sean O'Faolain. It may one day be a little classic of its kind, reflecting credit on its creative and critical sponsor.

MARY M. MACKEN

HISTORY

THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By Beryl Smalley. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1941. 17s. 6d.

MISS SMALLEY has written an astonishingly learned book on a very fascinating subject. Her title has perhaps been chosen too rashly, for this book deals with no more than an important cross-section of the immense subject which it suggests. And those who expect a neat summary of the whole problem will be disappointed. But this book does something more than give a neat summary. Fifteen years ago Professor Powicke opened up a new world to many English scholars by his Ford Lectures on Stephen Langton. Here was a famous English statesman of the Middle Ages who had been a famous professor at the new *studium* of Paris before he was chosen by Innocent III as his candidate for the vacant see of Canterbury. Professor Powicke threw new light on one of the most familiar controversies of English medieval history by a patient study of Langton's extant lectures on theology. And the world which he revealed to English medievalists was at once so interesting and so obviously important for a proper appreciation of medieval thought, that it is not surprising to find other scholars following in his footsteps.

Miss Smalley began her researches many years ago, and her name has become familiar to students of technical research into the history of thirteenth-century theology. But her study of Langton's position in the schools of Paris led her to a very much more detailed inquiry into the position and influence of the great abbey of St. Victor on the banks of the Seine, from which came some of the greatest names in twelfth-century scholasticism. Hugh of St. Victor, Richard of St. Victor, Adam of St. Victor—these names have long been familiar. But Miss Smalley now adds another name—Andrew of St. Victor—whose scientific theories of biblical study mark an epoch in the development of scholastic theology. As opposed to the more famous Richard, his contemporary and rival in the schools, Andrew is less mystical, more scientific. His exegesis is of extraordinary interest as showing us the medieval mind at grips with real problems of exact interpretation. His own solutions have often been proved inadequate, as generation added to the work of previous generations ; but Miss Smalley has rendered a valuable service to medieval studies by showing in detail how keenly critical, even when hampered by the absence of reliable texts or by their ignorance of the original language of Old or New Testament, men like Andrew of St. Victor or Stephen Langton were.

One point of general interest may be noted in this brief review of a very detailed study. Modern biblical criticism owes much to the revival of Greek studies in the sixteenth century. Medieval scholars were far more interested in Hebrew than in Greek—and Miss Smalley has a fascinating sketch of Andrew's relations with

the Jewish scholars of the day. Why was Greek neglected when men would go to such trouble about the Hebrew text ? Was it simply that Jewish scholars, some of them converts to Christianity, were to be found without difficulty in the great centres of Western study whilst Greek-speakers, let alone Greek scholars, were few and far between ? Whatever the reason, the absence of any real interest in Greek studies during the great period of medieval scholasticism gave Erasmus his opportunity in the sixteenth century. For the text " as read among the Jews " Andrew has, to quote Miss Smalley, " an admiring affection " . . . " His constant refrain, on comparing it with the Vulgate, is ' more clearly in the Hebrew ' . . . Andrew demands that his text should make plain sense, and he seems to find that the Hebrew fills this requirement better than the Vulgate."

Was Andrew of St. Victor an Englishman ? Miss Smalley discusses the problem, and on the whole decides that he most probably was. He was certainly appointed to rule an English abbey of the Canons of St. Victor, and his career as abbot suggests that he was a better scholar than administrator. But Miss Smalley is justified in pointing to the fact that medieval England made a distinguished contribution to biblical studies. Shortly before the outbreak of the present war, I had the good fortune to examine and handle the splendid volumes in which Stephen Harding, the author of the Cistercian *carta caritatis*, organised with the help of his austere community at Citeaux a well-meant though only partially successful attempt to set down in writing a trustworthy Latin Vulgate text. That was no mean achievement in its day. Richard of St. Victor is sometimes claimed as an Irishman : he was perhaps more probably a Breton. Hugh of St. Victor was a German who had settled at Paris, the great centre of theological discussion. If Andrew was an Englishman, then England produced the ablest biblical scholar of that great school. And he found a worthy successor after his death in Stephen Langton. Later there is Robert Grosseteste, and then the restless, critical spirit of Roger Bacon. England of the fourteenth-century was notable for the number of distinguished Oxford biblical scholars, of whom Wyclif was to prove the most famous. It is a sad end to a great tradition. But one cannot help speculating as to the national tradition, which goes back so far into the Catholic Middle Ages and which has left so deep a mark on English mentality.

Miss Smalley's study ends with the early thirteenth century, and she does little more than indicate the existence of these problems.

It would be tempting also, since Miss Smalley has given so much of her work to the Victorines of Paris, to discuss here the possible influence of the Victorine abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin, as a centre of theological study in Anglo-Norman Ireland. But the Canons of St. Victor did not come to Ireland until 1177, when the greatest days of their school were past history. Andrew himself was dead two years before that date, and there seems to have been no worthy successor to his traditions. Nevertheless, I should much like to ask Miss Smalley whether she can throw any light on the previous history of Master James, a Canon of St. Victor at Paris, who was chosen by Honorius III as papal legate to Ireland and Scotland in 1221 and who seems to have been exceptionally sympathetic to the older traditions of both countries. All that is known of him seems to be derived from a chance statement in Fordun's *Scotichronicon*. But he is always styled *magister Jacobus*, and I for one should like to know more of his earlier career as a master of theology. Wherever and whatever he had taught, he was able to understand the true drift of Anglo-Norman policy in this country ; and his report to Pope Honorius III seems to mark a turning-point in the development of papal policy towards Ireland.

A. G.

BOWEN'S COURT. By Elizabeth Bowen. London: Longmans. 1942. 16s.

I REGRET that I do not know Elizabeth Bowen, novelist, for I like her writing in this book. It holds me despite the fact that I do not find her family interesting or exciting. They moved, perhaps, too much within their own narrow orbit, though the novelist in their descendant finds an interest in the suggested straying of her ancestor John I towards Elizabeth Cushin. She was the heiress of the dispossessed Garret Cushin whose castle of Farahy and lands Oliver Cromwell had bestowed upon Colonel John Bowen of Glamorganshire! His actual straying towards another apparently less reputable Elizabeth, heiress to not even a surname, this brilliant writer may weave one day into a story, recapturing the atmosphere of Lord Orrery's Charleville towards the close of the 17th century!

To return to the family orbit. The book is provided with a genealogical table. It is remarkable with what accord the Bowens arranged to marry within the circle always, often within its wealthy members, Mallow private bankers and others, sometimes even within the family group itself. Before Bowen's Court, with its solidity and formality made for " behaviour " (as its chronicler tells us it did), whilst the family was still resident at the former Desmond castle of Kilbolane near Charleville they apparently always behaved. That is a proceeding which, in a mixed world, seldom makes for interest or excitement. Yet their book makes for both. What one could call its leitmotif—her reflections on her social group and their relation or want of relation to the people whose lands they seized and held till they were forced to sell—had a throbbing actuality, even if for themselves only. It is the theme of Lennox Robinson's play *The Big House* and it vexed the soul of their greatest representative in the imaginative sphere, the late W. B. Yeats. *She* says of " county gentlemen ": " From the big lord to the small gentleman we were being edged back upon a tract of clouds and of obsessions that could only be solitary. The sense of dislocation was everywhere."

I think Elizabeth Bowen is as proud as she tells us her scholarly father was of her Welsh descent from good stock in Glamorganshire. She traces that descent as carefully as possible in her book, and she suggests the memory of the ancestral family home " Court House " at Ilston in the Gower peninsula as one of the reasons for the perhaps ostentatious designation of the Kildorrery seat " Bowen's Court." This was built in the second half of the eighteenth century and still stands habitable and inhabited by the author, first woman heir and owner of the demesne. The lands—about 1,600 acres—have passed, not indeed back to the original owners the Cussens (Cushins) but to the people who had put their labour and sweat into them through all the years. I think this quiet descendant of the first planters would not have it otherwise. She is loyal to her clan and exquisitely reserved in her handling of their story, but she is a clear-eyed critic of their group and hers and has no illusions as to the fundamental falseness of their position in Ireland: " They were conquering Protestants before they were Christians. Nothing during their years of prosperity gave the soul any chance to stand at its full height. I have said of the Ascendancy of the 1750's that feeling might have been fatal to it. *The structure of the great Anglo-Irish society was reared over a country in martyrdom. To enjoy prosperity, one had to exclude feeling.*"

Bowen's Court landscape, the pattern of which Elizabeth Bowen knows so well and describes so fascinatingly, is familiar to me. I know a good deal of Doneraile, Mallow, Mitchelstown and Fermoy, the four towns adjacent to her house; of the life within and about such a house I, obviously, know nothing. The average County Cork dweller would confess to a similar ignorance. The few initiated would be the " county " families—either colonists themselves and hangers-on of such or isolated Norman-Irish Catholic landowners such as the Harold Barrys of Ballyvonare, to the bare justice of whose behaviour at the famous Doneraile Conspiracy Trials

in 1829 in Cork she pays such enthusiastic tribute! In this year of grace 1942 there is little to know of such houses; for the life that Miss Bowen portrays, down through the generations from 1650 to the Irish Treaty in 1921, is definitely over. Many of these houses have been burnt and never rebuilt. Many have passed into the hands of religious orders. Opposite the window at which I write stands the gate of Newmarket Court. In 1928 the Sisters of St. Joseph bought the demesne and house, converting it into a novitiate for their Order in Australia. Since that date the nuns have received visits of the friendliest kind from the voluntarily dispossessed Aldworths and their kinsfolk, the St. Legers of Doneraile of whose ancestress (later become an Aldworth by marriage), the "clock-faced" lady freemason, Miss Bowen so wittily writes. Our times are so far surely good! Good, too, to her, I feel sure, is the omen that the finely disciplined chatelaine of Bowen's Court still finds her Irish home intact and that the traditionally Irish Christmas candle which is reflected in her beautiful Cork Georgian silver shines with an equal peace in the humblest of the Kildorrery houses purchased from her estate.

MARY M. MACKEN

HISTORY OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH. By Jules Lebreton, S.J., and Jacques Zeiller. Translated from the French by Ernest C. Messenger, Ph.D. Volume I. London: Burns Oates. 1942. 16s. net.

THE original of this work (reviewed in *Studies*, June 1935) eminently deserved translation. It is a co-operative history of the Church on a grand scale, in which each period is entrusted to a first-class authority after the manner of the Cambridge Histories and the numerous French series edited by scholars like Glotz, Halphen, and Cavaignac. The present translation only covers half of the first French volume. Except for an introductory chapter on the Roman world at the commencement of Christianity and ten pages on the apostolate of St. Peter, contributed by M. Zeiller, the rest of this part is entirely the work of Father Lebreton, whose high reputation is sufficient guarantee of its quality. From its first appearance it has been generally recognised as a masterpiece, and the translation succeeds admirably in conveying the elegance, lucidity, and gracefully-borne learning of the original.

The idea of dividing the rather cumbrous French volumes into pairs was an excellent one from the point of view of convenience, and many will treasure the successive issues of Dr. Messenger's translation, if only for the ease with which they will fit into the pocket. There is a certain completeness also about the present work, for it brings the narrative account of the Church's origin and growth down to the end of the Apostolic Age, and has really no superior on its own scale. The next part will contain chapters on the inner life and organisation of the early Church as well as continuing its history as far as the end of the second century. Such a piece of work as this must have entailed considerable labour for the translator, and Dr. Messenger is to be congratulated on the skill and judgment with which he has carried it out. Perhaps the emergency is responsible for the few slight slips noticeable in the text, of which "Apollonius of *Tyre*" on p. 22 is probably the most serious. The task of reproducing the very full notes, and of adapting them slightly to suit the English reader, has been carried through very successfully, so that the purchaser of the book will get full value even for its rather high price.

The only criticism to which the work as a whole lays itself open is one of a general character. Such an enterprise as Fliche et Martin's *Histoire de l'Eglise* is essentially a presentation of the most up-to-date research on its subject, and this first volume is already eight years old. It is rather a pity that so heavy a task as is necessarily involved in its translation should be undertaken without such expansion, especially of the notes and bibliographies, as will bring it once more abreast of the latest scholarship. This is work that could be best done by the co-operation of two or three

experts, and it would render the resultant product even more valuable than it seems likely to be, as well as hastening its completion, if it could be so organised. To say this, however, is only to express the wish that what is well done could have been nearer perfection. M. T.

THE STORY OF THE GROWTH OF NURSING as an Art, a Vocation, and a Profession. By Agnes E. Pavey. London: Faber and Faber. Pp. 426. 15s.

Miss Pavey first devotes 80 pages to a dozen civilized lands of the pre-Christian world. In each case she gives a summary of general history, coupled with remarks on religion and medicine and followed by an account of nursing. When all the Wellsian "outline of history" has been ignored, the amount of information about nursing in this Part of the book is found to be meagre enough for a single chapter.

"Part II: A Vocation" treats of the Christian period down to about 1850 in 180 pages. The general influence of Christianity, charitable women of the early Church (all of whom the author regards as "deaconesses"), the monasteries and non-monastic hospitals, charitable queens and ladies of mediaeval times, the military nursing orders of the crusades and the non-enclosed orders of nuns and brothers—all these are brought before us in turn with names, dates, facts, appreciation and criticism. There is an interesting chapter on the Islamic hospitals. The great decline in nursing which followed on the suppression of the religious orders and the Thirty Years War is not given a separate chapter as in *A History of Nursing* by Nutting and Dock; it finds mention in various contexts. A consideration of the hospitals of London and the nursing orders of Catholic countries, notably the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, leads up to the reforms of the 19th century. A description of the pioneer work of the Irish Sisters of Charity and Mercy in English-speaking countries is followed by an account of the Protestant Sisterhoods in England and the Kaiserwerth Deaconesses, which paved the way for the modern nursing profession. Miss Pavey's treatment of this period is somewhat marred by her lack of sympathetic understanding of Christian teaching and virtues, Church discipline, monasticism, asceticism, and the ideals of the religious life. Her humanitarian and scientific attitude is better suited to "Part III: A Profession."

Florence Nightingale's long life of devotion to the cause of nursing heralds in the modern period. Her training school for nurses marks the foundation in 1860 of the profession, the early progress of which is shown to have been due in great measure to her ceaseless efforts. District nursing, hospitals for the poor, asylums for the insane, midwifery, maternity, public health and military nursing, as well as State registration, the International Council, University affiliation and nursing education—in all its branches as well as in its general configuration, the growth of the profession to its present imposing stature is simply told. It is a story full of interest, and it should evoke the modern reader's admiration and gratitude for the progress of the last hundred years.

"But something of the art, and much of the vocation, must still remain . . ." says Miss Pavey in a concluding note. No doubt the nursing profession, like the medical profession, will always be an art as well as a science; but one feels that watchful care may be required if it is to retain that grand character of genuine Christian charity which it inherited from nursing as a vocation. The chapter on contemporary nursing education shows that there is a tendency to crowd lectures and examinations, in a multiplicity of scientific and medical subjects, into the student nurse's curriculum. Add to this the very secular character of many Universities, the materialistic outlook of the age, the extension of State control over most departments of life, and it becomes clear that the training and formation of nurses might assume less welcome features. Competition and efficiency might increase at the

expense of that atmosphere of kindness and sympathy which means so much more to the patient. The Sister of Charity, the member of a religiously inspired Order or Sisterhood, should be the best channel for the best traditions of nursing, the surest source of replenishment with the spirit of Christian charity in a changing world. The student's course in the history of nursing should also help her to be inspired by the ideals of the nursing of the past; but the text-book for this course would need to be written in more sympathetic vein than Part II of Miss Pavey's book.

B. L.

OLD CATHOLIC LANCASHIRE. By Dom F. Odo Blundell O.S.B. Three Volumes. London: Burns Oates. 1925–41. Vol. I 3s. 6d., Vols. II and III 6s. each.

For nearly a hundred years Irishmen have gone in their thousands to Merseyside and have settled there. Whole districts of Lancashire and especially of Liverpool are inhabited almost entirely by Irishmen. Mr. T. P. O'Connor was returned to Parliament as a Nationalist by the Scotland Division of Liverpool from 1885 to the year of his death, 1929. So we are apt to think of Catholicism in Lancashire as a very Irish thing. But it is well to remember that the Irish and their descendants are not the only Catholics in that part of England. How far they are from being so the three volumes under review bear witness, for in the course of them Irish names hardly occur at all. Instead we find Cliftons, Andertons, Blundells, Standishes, Pleasingtons, Tarletons, Osbaldestons, Molyneux, Worthingtons, Fazakerleys, Bluckingtons, Tyldesleys, and scores of other names equally unfamiliar to us in Ireland.

The fact is that, quite apart from Irish immigrants, there is in all England no county so Catholic as Lancashire. Nowhere else in England did Catholics cling so tenaciously to the Faith throughout the entire period of the Penal Laws. The Lancashire people had their full share of persecution and their due proportion of martyrs. Indeed these volumes are largely a record of their struggle to keep the Faith—of spies and informers, of trials and executions, of priest-hunts and fines for recusancy. The backbone of the resistance, apart from the seminary priests and the religious orders, was the local squire at the Hall. Here the hunted priest was lodged and to this day the hiding places are to be seen, together with many another souvenir of those dark yet glorious days—chalices, vestments, relics of the martyrs. If the Irish do not come into the picture that is because the record covers roughly the period 1550–1850, closing therefore before the Irish had come in considerable numbers.

For his work Dom Blundell has ransacked all manner of ancient unpublished records and family papers. And he has illustrated it by pictures of the old Halls, the early chapels (mostly in barns, outhouses, or top storeys), and, by way of contrast, some of the modern churches; also by portraits of some of the noteworthy Catholics whom Lancashire gave to the Church, such as Cardinal Allen and Bishop Walmesley. It was a labour of love, Dom Blundell being not only a Lancashire man himself but a member of one of the most distinguished and most faithful Catholic families of England. His work is of interest to Catholics everywhere.

S. J. B.

Miscellaneous

THE LETTERS OF SAINT JEROME. A Selection edited, with Introduction and Commentary, by Rev. James Duff, M.A. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1942. 8s. 6d.

Students of the Christian classics owe a real debt of gratitude to the Professors of Maynooth College. Not long ago their President gave us a handsome volume

of selections from the Greek writings of Saint John Chrysostom, and now Father Duff has added a smaller but most useful volume of selections from the Latin letters of Saint Jerome. Turning over these pages, my thoughts go back to a time when I first picked up, on the Dublin quays, an old copy of Saint Jerome's letters selected and edited by no less a person than Saint Peter Canisius. The text was not so conveniently printed nor so readable as this workmanlike volume, which does credit to our Dublin printers. But there were comments on the margins of the older selection which were proof of the amazing vitality of Saint Jerome as a controversialist and a director of souls. Peter Canisius was thinking of his German fellow-countrymen when he printed a selection of all that was best in the letters of a great Christian writer whose elegant Latin could put most of the sixteenth-century humanists, German or Italian, to shame; and Saint Jerome's brilliant polemics against Vigilantius, for example, were singularly apt in an age which was once more witnessing an attack on the whole Christian ideal of virginity.

To-day, as yesterday, Saint Jerome is a writer well worth reading as a Latin stylist; but he is also a director of souls whose practical counsels are as helpful now as when they were written fifteen hundred years ago. Father Duff has chosen twenty-five specimens, many of them addressed to that remarkable group of holy and studious women who looked to Jerome for guidance in their spiritual life and in their studies. The notes are short and helpful, calling attention either to some late form in Jerome's Latinity or to the presence of some indirect quotation from the Latin Bible, which none knew better or could quote more aptly than the creator of our Vulgate. But the portion of this volume which will be welcomed most heartily by students is the historical Introduction, which fills more than one third of the whole book. Here Father Duff has drawn freely on the wealth of new material which has been collected by French scholars like Paul Monceaux and Father Ferdinand Cavellera. With these two scholars as his principal guides, he paints a vivid picture of Christian life in Rome and Jerusalem towards the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries; and his own fine knowledge of the Latin language has made it possible for him to write a most sympathetic appreciation of Saint Jerome as a stylist.

It would be hard to better this book as a simple, practical introduction to Latin Christian literature. How far it will be used in our schools and universities, will depend on the willingness of our classical teachers to break away from the routine of well-worn text-books. That Jerome and John Chrysostom are worth reading for their own sakes needs no demonstration. But two Maynooth Professors of Classics have now shown us that their literary masterpieces can be placed within the reach of students whose Latin and Greek is sufficient to let them appreciate two great masters of style and thought. A. G.

THE SCREWTAPE LETTERS. By C. S. Lewis. London: Bles. 1942. 5s.

THE devil would seem to be in fashion these days. Mr. Dennis Wheatley has probably caused more flesh to creep than any modern fiction writer with his *The Devil Rides Out*. And what is certainly rare in the modern thriller, his preface is a prayer to the reader to flee all magic, black and white. Mr. Lewis's method of approach is very different. Taking as his guiding text St. Thomas More's saying "The devill . . . the prowde spirite cannot endure to be mocked," he gives a series of letters from "his Abysmal Sublimity Under-Secretary Screwtape" to his fond nephew and junior tempter Wormwood, instructing him in the strategy and tactics of temptation. The author of the meditation *On Two Standards* would have read this modern presentation of it with much delight. But Mr. Lewis's devil has no throne of fire and smoke. He is much more akin to Heine's demon: "Ein Mann

in seinen besten Jahren, verbindlich und hofflich und welterfahren." It is one of the great merits of Mr. Lewis's book that while he mocks the proud spirits and gives us many a pleasant moment, we are constantly aware that they have kept that angelic brilliance of intellect which was theirs when the morning stars sang together and that it is irrevocably dedicated to evil.

In addition to exposing with shrewd psychology their infernal tactics, Mr. Lewis makes Wormwood and Slubgob and their friends the unwilling vehicles of much sound Christian teaching. And it is so delightfully and wittily presented that our moderns, who shy at even the cover of a spiritual book, will chuckle their way through the entire contents of this unusual postbag. Worship, humility, prayer, courage, charity—all these are capably handled. And the finest of these is charity. As is fitting, many of the letters pivot round this central virtue. And it is rather horrible to see ourselves as Screwtape sees us. There are few families that will not recall competitions in unselfishness (the " Generous Conflict Illusion ") when " something quite trivial like having tea in the garden was proposed." And many will recognise old acquaintances in " the woman who is in what may be called the ' All-I-Want ' state of mind " and " the woman who lives for others—you can always tell the others by their hunted expression."

" Prosperity knits a man to the World. He feels that he is finding ' his place in it ', while really it is finding its place in him." This and many another piece of Screwtape's comment are a somewhat unmerciful mirror held up to conscience. He is good too on the elusive virtue of humility, which not a few take as meaning " pretty women trying to believe they are ugly and clever men trying to believe they are fools." One senses however a certain vagueness in Screwtape's overlengthy disquisitions on " being in love." Perhaps he is blinded by that golden light of reverence and naturalness which colours Christian marriage or perhaps the poor fellow is cribbed by his spiritual state—in fact he admits that for him " the whole subject is one of considerable tedium." At any rate if there is a stray copy of the *Summa* in the nether regions, he will find St. Thomas clearer on the subject. And if the library table is up-to-date, he will get some help from Doms and Vann and Mersch. Do devils read books as well as write such interesting letters ?

Screwtape, Slubgob and the rest have within six months reached a fifth edition in this world—which is comforting ; for they will surely have inspired many to avoid their society in the next. They would be the devil's own company for eternity.

D. O'S.

THE DISCIPLE. By T. R. Glover. Cambridge : University Press. Third impression. 1942. 62 Pp. 3s.

Dr. Glover has a wide reputation as a New Testament and classical scholar and critic. In this little book he presents the disciple of the Apostles in a variety of roles—learner, slave, soldier, thinker, child of God. His method is very simple and direct. By a thoughtful and always learned consideration of various texts from the New Testament, from St. Paul especially, he pictures the effect of the Christian teaching on those whom it influenced. Though he never makes a parade of his learning, it is clear that he has studied and meditated with, if I may say it, a loving care the New Testament writings, and that he has brought to the better understanding of them a deep knowledge of classical antiquity.

These little thumb-nail sketches are in general admirable and will help all who read them to a better appreciation of the Gospels and Epistles. Two of them especially I liked. " The Slave " is an examination of those texts of St. Paul which state his utter subjection to Christ—" *Paulus, servus Iesu Christi.*" Dr. Glover insists that Paul meant exactly what he wrote, meant all the connotations that the word carried with it at that period, that the " *stigmata,*" " the marks of the Lord

Jesus," were a direct reference to the branding of the slave with his master's name. But he also insists that there were widely differing types of slavery in that world, and he compares Paul's slavery to Christ with the relations that existed between Cicero and his slave Tiro—his close and understanding friend to whose devotion we owe the preservation of Cicero's letters.

The other sketch is one called " The Ambassador " from the text in 2 Cor. 5, 20 : " For Christ therefore we are ambassadors." He considers the origin of the office in the Hellenic world, enumerates the qualities of the good ambassador, and draws the conclusion that the Christian in the midst of a pagan world must have those qualities if he is to succeed in drawing men to Christ. Among such qualities he numbers courtesy and an appreciation of the opposing point of view ; kindness and patience and consideration ; in fact, those characteristics precisely that make for good manners. Finally, he illustrates that point of view from the early Fathers and Apologists.

Those two examples may perhaps serve as an illustration of the freshness and originality of thought to be found in these portraits. Unfortunately the book cannot be recommended wholeheartedly to Catholic readers. Dr. Glover is a Protestant and frequently expresses opinions which we must reject. The following may serve as examples of the errors which occur in the book. " There are no Christian priests in the New Testament . . . *presbyter* is not priest in that century, has no hint of similar meaning." (p. 29). " No idea is more dominant in Paul than that of Grace, and Luther recovered it for us " (p. 48). " All depends, according to (St. John), on what you *believe* about Christ ; he is very far from the clever talk of the epistle of James about faith without works " (p. 39). " The writer to the Hebrews elaborates the thesis that Christians need no altar, no sacrifice, no temple, no priest " (p. 28). Sometimes he seems to contradict himself. So, in one place he appears to imply that Christian unity is impossible when he says : " With all our modern chatter about Christian unity, Jesus saw deeper when He said that our judgments upon God must divide men " (p. 39). But in a later chapter, speaking of comradeship, he defines the " church " not " as a unity but as the aggregate of those who have known God in Christ," and says : " Fellowship, association, friendship, intimacy—these have made the church from the beginning, and it does not get very far without them : no combined work can be done where the workers do not pull together, but least of all in the church " (p. 53).

It is indeed unfortunate that a work which contains so many helpful and devotional thoughts should be marred for Catholics by statements with which they must, in spite of courtesy and consideration and all other " ambassadorial " qualities, violently and totally disagree. S. O C.

AN ULSTERWOMAN IN ENGLAND. 1924 to 1941. By Nesca A. Robb. Cambridge University Press. 1942. 8s. 6d. net.

THE journalist is nowadays the king of letters, and all modern literature seems more and more to strive to become journalism. Nothing sells so well as the bulky volume in which the visiting reporter sets out in hasty language his hasty impressions of one country after another. Miss Robb differs from the average reporter in that she possesses an elegant and sensitive style, and in that her impressions are those of a cultivated, thoughtful mind, interested rather in life and human nature than in the more sensational events that constitute the best-seller's normal material. In one way it is almost a pity that she should have chosen for her book a form that puts it, at first sight, on the journalistic level. Yet it may well survive among the ruck of ephemeral impressions of England at war, and be read in the future for the sake of its sincerity and its style.

In form it is the plain and rather commonplace narrative of an Ulsterwoman who took her degree at Oxford and, after some experience in teaching, went through the ordeal of the war in London and in the bombed English countryside. Miss Robb has little or nothing to tell of the people she has met; no great names give her pages a meretricious interest, and it is almost a surprise to find her paying a tribute to one lady, since dead, who was a leader in organising the activities of women in the early days of the war. Instead she has many well-drawn sketches of sights she has seen, of the anonymous characters she has met, and of the racy things they have said in her hearing, which altogether make a sympathetic and touching but by no means sentimentalised picture of England at war. As an Irishwoman she sees the English as a strange, sometimes even as a queer people, and can be irritated by their well-known failings quite as much as she can admire their obvious good qualities. It would seem that the denizens of the darkest North find it almost as difficult to feel at home among the Saxon as do the wayward progeny of the unreasonable South. Of Ireland Miss Robb has only a little to say, just once or twice hovering on the dangerous edge of politics, and not omitting to caution those " who think that the Irish question is solved because fire brigades from Eire gave their help in the air-raids on the North." Her book may perhaps suggest that one possible bond between North and South is their common understanding of the English. M. T.

STATISTICAL YEAR BOOK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Geneva. 1942. pp. 271. 10s.

THE I.L.O. AT WORK. Montreal: 3480 University Street. January, 1942.

THE general public probably looks upon the League of Nations as dead or at best in a state of suspended animation. Whatever may be said of the Assembly and its political activities, this is not true of certain other organs of the League engaged, chiefly, in social and humanitarian activities. Thus the Secretariat continues, despite reduced numbers and resources, some of its work in Geneva itself, while the International Labour Office has established its headquarters in Montreal, with branches in London, Washington, New Delhi, and Chung-king.

The difficulties that had to be overcome in compiling the *Statistical Year Book* for the years 1940-1 must have been very great. The result may be all the more valuable on that account. One division of the Year Book deals with population and population movements. It makes clear, so far as facts are available, the ruinous effects of the War on the growth of population. Another division is devoted to currencies and finance. Here again the effects of the War are manifest in the enormous growth of government expenditure, in the piling up of national debts, in the dislocation of trade and business.

The I.L.O. at Work is an informal record of a Conference called by the International Labour Office and held last October at Columbia University, New York, delegates from 34 countries being present. The Axis powers and their allies were not represented; but on the other hand, besides delegates from the Allied Countries, there were representatives from a number of neutral countries. The record of the proceedings of this conference is interestingly set forth and fully illustrated with photographs.

We may take this opportunity of calling attention to some valuable recent publications of the I.L.O.—*The I.L.O. and Reconstruction, Methods of Collaboration between the Public Authorities, Workers' Organisations and Employers' Organisations, Wartime Developments in Government—Employer—Worker Collaboration,* and the full *Record of the Proceedings* of the New York Conference. The I.L.O. also publishes the *International Labour Review.* S. J. B.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

DIE SATZUNGEN DES JESUITENORDENS. Werden, Inhalt, Geistesart. Von Paul de Chastonay, S.J. Einsiedeln: Benziger. 1938. 278 S. Kart. Fr. 6.30. Geb. Fr. 7.60.

INTROIBO. Ein Priesterbuch: Lesungen und Erwaegungen ueber das Missale. Von Paul de Chastonay, S.J. Einsiedeln: Benziger. 1942. 176 S. Kart. Fr. 4.80. Geb. Fr. 6.—

The title of the first-mentioned book gives a clear indication of its contents. It contains the origin and history of the Jesuit constitutions, describes very fully their contents, and gives a most satisfying account of their spirit and outlook. It will be most valuable in Germany, where the Society of Jesus is so misunderstood—that is, of course, if its reading is not forbidden.

To be misunderstood would seem almost to be a proper of the Society of Jesus. That is certainly true of its founder. He has found countless biographers—and in the strangest places. All but a few have made him after their own image. In two points especially have they failed. They have turned his unique simplicity into a sinister complexity. And they have weighed him in their twentieth-century balance and found him—"anthropocentric."

Perhaps the greatest merit of Fr. de Chastonay's able study is to expose the injustice of the literary historian's facile label. The theocentrism of Ignatius Loyola is, to an unprejudiced observer, visible on every page of the constitutions of his order. *Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam* is their recurring refrain; it is always the yardstick by which Ignatius's men are to measure the worth of their work. And the passage in which he tells his followers "to seek God in all things . . . loving Him in all creatures and them all in Him" may fairly be taken as a summary of the whole. He would indeed have been amazed at this modern discovery that only a purely contemplative way of life can be theocentric. For there is an apostolic theocentrism which is neither a flight from the world nor a seeking of it, but an orientation to God of all that is in man and all that is in the world. Where Red Eminences and Grey Eminences failed, Ignatius succeeded. His problems perhaps were less complex. But his eye was single.

That simplicity of view enabled him to unite harmoniously qualities that to many would seem opposed. He harmonised idealism and realism, authority and freedom, Christianity and humanism. Miss Rosalind Murray in her latest book denies that the latter pair are reconcilable. "It may be," she adds however, "that Christian humanism differently understood and with different emphasis may become a conceivable ideal." That difference of understanding and emphasis was precisely the Ignatian challenge to the Renaissance spirit. Ignatius understood what was human; he emphasised what was divine. His solution of the problem of authority and freedom is one that the modern world must imitate or be lost. Accused by some of authoritarian absolutism and by others of unbridled individualism, what he really did was to anchor human authority in God's will and in God's Law, hedging and curbing it at the same time by moral and legal restrictions proceeding likewise from the same source. There never lived a more convinced defender of the worth and the rights of the human person than Ignatius Loyola.

To those who like Fulop-Miller seek a solution of the "Jesuit problem," Father de Chastonay answers with the one word "Love"—that generous devotion to Christ and to His Kingdom which is the master-lesson of the school in which every Jesuit is formed, the Spiritual Exercises. In them and not in any human prudence or crafty guile lies the "Power and Secret of the Jesuits."

The Spiritual Exercises have often been regarded as opposed to the Liturgy. In his latest book, *Introibo*, a volume of meditations for priests, Father de Chastonay

gives a convincing solution in practice of that supposed opposition. Twenty years ago, in a work on the Exercises, he wrote the following words which might very well have formed the preface to this book. " The question has been asked, ' Exercises or Liturgy ? ' The answer is ' Exercises *and* Liturgy.' St. Ignatius saw nothing irreconcilable in them. Far from being mutually exclusive, they seem destined to support and complete each other. To many, the Ignatian method of prayer has seemed dry and abstract ; for unskilled hands and purely speculative heads had only too thoroughly divorced it from that living actuality and that gripping force of presentation which are the advantages of the Liturgy. On the other hand, the Liturgy primarily affects the senses and the emotions, and needs a completion and a deepening from the side of asceticism and dogma."

The Jesuits of the German-speaking countries have co-operated very earnestly with the repeatedly-expressed desire of the last four Popes for the spread of the spirit of the Liturgy. Three of their number Fathers Kramp, Braun and Jungmann, have made notable contributions to liturgical science. While Fr. de Chastonay's work has lain mainly in administrative fields, he has made a deep study both of the Exercises and the Liturgy. From that sure source comes this book on the Mass, a book remarkable for the skill with which it weaves asceticism, philosophy and dogma into the structure and prayers of the Holy Sacrifice. It is replete with that " intelligentia ceremoniarum " and deep love of the Mass which are the demands of Ignatius on his followers, demands made all the more insistently for the fact that the way of service they have chosen asks for the sacrifice of the public Divine Office and more frequent ceremonial.

Father de Chastonay ends with St. Paul's words to the Corinthians : " Who sows in blessings shall reap in blessings." Such has been his own sowing.

D. O'S.

FOLLOW ME. The Three Vows of Religion ascetically and canonically considered. By the Reverend Bernard Fennelly, C.S.Sp. London : Burns Oates. 1941. Pp. 203. 6s.

This book, a sequel to Father Kearney's introduction to the Religious Life, *Treasure in Heaven*, treats in detail the three vows of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience. In the three parts the teaching and example of Our Divine Lord are first considered. Then follows a discussion of the nature of each vow, its obligations, violations, difficulties and ideals. A section on Our Lady as model of the practice of the vows closes each part. In an introduction Dr. Leen discusses a number of interesting questions—the danger of valuing efficiency above the interior spirit, the problem of " recruiting " for religious societies. He ends by recommending this book to Masters and Mistresses of Novices, and rightly—it should prove of considerable use to them. He recommends it also to novices and professed religious in general ; here we are more doubtful. From the devotional and ascetical chapters they could indeed reap nothing but fruit, but some of the canonical considerations, besides being rather abstract and complicated, may perhaps occasion scruples and needless worries in those who are as yet beginners in the religious life. What is interesting to the moral theologian and the canonist is not always helpful to the soul that is striving to please God.

Dealing with Christ's poverty, Father Fennelly mentions that His was not a poverty of rags and utter wretchedness. It was poverty, but not destitution. This statement is indeed a commonplace of spiritual writers. However in these days of extreme want many besides religious will be helped by the thought that the key points of Our Divine Lord's life were marked by grinding poverty. Could there be greater poverty than the poverty that attended His birth ; than the poverty of most of His Public Life when He was homeless, hungry, penniless ; above all, than

the poverty of His death, when He was quite literally deprived of all worldly possessions ; in pity a stranger had to provide a tomb for His dead Body. On the other hand to say that He " loathed " pomp and power and unlimited material resources seems too strong. Surely the only thing He *loathed* was sin.

Father Fennelly opens his consideration of the canonical aspect of the vow of Poverty with a series of definitions. " *Ownership* means the moral power of control over a thing. This control is called *absolute* and *perfect* if the control extends to the *possession, use* and *disposal* of the thing. The right to dispose carries with it the right to change, destroy, or give away the thing." (p. 17). As a definition of *Ownership* this is hardly adequate. It is not merely a *jus utendi et abutendi ;* this right is qualified by the important condition *quatenus juris ratio patitur.* This indeed is only a matter of detail and has little direct bearing on the question of Religious Poverty. Still, to a canonist definitions are presumably not without interest. Furthermore this book is seemingly intended for many who have not had the opportunity of studying scholastic philosophy ; for them such terms as a " degree of being " (p. 4) or a " subject of inhesion " (p. 163) will be rather unintelligible.

There are, however, many pages full of kindly wisdom and helpful thoughts. There is much in the description of true obedience : " It means a willingness to be told what to do." (p. 161). J. G.

PHILOSOPHY

PROLOGOMENA IN PSYCHOLOGIAM. Auctore P. Jacobo van der Veldt, O.F.M. Romae. 1938. Pp. 308. lib. ital. 25.

DRAWN up originally for students in the College of Propaganda Fide and the Antonianum in Rome, this general introduction to Psychology deals broadly but adequately with the nature of Psychology, its history, its many contemporary schools, its different methods. A thorough examination into the correct definition of Psychology leads on to a discussion of the relations and differences between its two main divisions, Rational and Experimental. This last Dr. Van der Veldt defines as " the scientific study of psychic phaenomena, *i.e.* the science which according to scientific principles and method (in the modern sense) describes, analyses, classifies and explains the conscious activities of corporeal living things. Briefly, it is the scientific study of psychophysical phaenomena in animals and men." (p. 46) Such a study results naturally in the formulation of general laws and theories. The objective value of such laws and theories, from the philosophical standpoint, is discussed in an interesting appendix to this first part. What is the relation between " science " and philosophy ? Have scientific theories merely a symbolic and representative value or do they give an objectively true explanation of reality ? Is the " truth " of science different from the " truth " of philosophy ? On this subject both the scientists and the philosophers are divided. Maritain would side with Poincaré and Duhem in denying objective value to such scientific theories. Hoenen, on the other hand, would allow them at least an analogical value—the notions they employ and the causes which they postulate are at least analogous to the adequate notions and the true causes of objective reality.

After this opening section there follows a chapter giving a brief summary of the history of Psychology. As these pages were originally intended for missionary students drawn from almost every part of the globe, an account of psychology among the peoples of the East is given at some length. The section on Chinese philosophy is based for the most part on Père Wieger's *Histoire des Croyances.* Perhaps it is extreme to say that the ancient Chinese held the final extinction of the soul after a certain period of survival. This is indeed Père Wieger's hypothesis, but he himself has to admit ; " Aucun auteur, aucun commentateur ancien, n'a osé dire ouvertment

et brutalement que, à la longue, toute âme dissipe." (p. 123). On most ultimate questions the Chinese are merely agnostic.

The third section deals with the divisions of contemporary Psychology and they are many. Each of the main modern systems is outlined, its good points noted, its defects briefly criticised, its main teachings correlated with scholastic philosophy, noting where they differ really, where merely verbally. The treatment is necessarily rather summary, but this section is a very interesting one.

The methods of Psychology are considered in the concluding section. Once again many different points of view, many divergences of opinion have to be clarified and examined, and this is done with considerable success. Among many other things there is a discussion of the problem of applying quantitative measurement to Psychology.

The whole book is obviously the result of much painstaking work. It covers an immense field with systematic thoroughness. Each new term as it occurs is carefully defined, each division of the treatment is explained, each opinion is dealt with moderately and objectively. Wishing to add to the usefulness of the book, the author has appended to each of the chapters and to many of the sub-sections abundant bibliographies of Catholic and non-Catholic works on the particular points under discussion. Misprints are not entirely lacking, but of this we are forewarned in the *Prooemium*, which lays the blame on the " gravibus rerum circumstantiis et haud parvis difficultatibus huius nostrae aetatis." J. G.

CAUSALITY AND IMPLICATION. By D. J. B. Hawkins. London : Sheed & Ward. 1937. Pp. 122. 5s. net.

THE object of this book is to defend the traditional view of causation against the destructive criticisms of Hume and his successors. The author begins by expounding Aristotle's doctrine of efficient causality. Hume's criticisms are next subjected to a close scrutiny, after which the objections of more recent adversaries are ably discussed. These attacks are found to be based on the assumption that one *reality* cannot *imply* another, although it is conceded that one *idea* may do so. The problem is thus reduced to an examination of the nature of *implication*. From a careful analysis of this term the conclusion is ultimately reached that " implication is a conjunctive relation belonging to an isolate as such."

After the preliminary work of clearing the ground has been completed, the construction of a positive justification of causality is undertaken. M. Maritain's proof of the principle of causality from contingency is first examined, and then rejected as containing a *petitio principii*. The author next gives his own " elucidation " of the problem. Unfortunately, however, the argument is not presented in strict syllogistic form and, consequently, the reasoning is not as clear as it should be when so little may be assumed. The proof seems to imply the identification of *contingent* and *caused*, since both are opposed to *absolutely given*. But a little reflection will show that, even if *not-contingent* is identified with *not-caused*, it does not necessarily follow that *contingent* must be identified with *caused*. In general, however, the author is to be commended for his successful combination of brevity and clarity as well as for his grasp of modern etiological problems.

T. V. F.

Books Received

AHEARNE, PIERCE AND MICHAEL LANE . . . PONTIFICAL CEREMONIES. Study of the Episcopal Ceremonies. (Burns Oates, 15/-).

AMERY, L. S. India and Freedom. (Oxford University Press, 3/6).

BARKER, ERNEST. Reflections on Government. (Oxford Press, 21/-).

Binchy, D. A. Críth Gablach. (Stationery Office, 3/6).

Bowen, Elizabeth. Bowen's Court. (16/-).

Bowen, E. G. A Study in Geography and History. (University of Wales Press, 3/6).

Collingwood, R. G. The New Leviathan or Man, Society, Civilization and Barbarism. (Clarendon Press, 21/-).

Copleston, Frederick. Nietzsche: Philosopher of Culture. (Burns Oates, 8/6).

Coupland, R. The Cripps Mission. (Oxford Press, 1/-).

D'Arcy, Martin C. Death and Life. (Longmans, 5/-).

Defererrari, Roy J. Catholic Education in the U.S. (Catholic University, $4.50).

Donnelly, Francis P. Oration of Demosthenes on the Crown. (Fordham Press, $2.25).

Donohue, Charles. Gaelic Version of the Dormitio Mariae. (Fordham Press, $1.50).

Drinkwater, F. H. My Church Book. For Children of First-Communion Age. (Burns Oates, 3/6).

Duff, James. The Letters of St. Jerome. (Browne & Nolan, 8/6).

Eliot, T. S. The Classics and the Man of Letters. (Oxford Press, 8d.).

Evans, E. Estyn. Irish Heritage. The Landscape, the People, their Work. (Dundalgan Press, 8/6).

Gelber, Lionel. Peace by Power. (Oxford Press, 3/6).

Harvey, Margaret M. The Law of Liberty. Swarthmore Lecture. (Allen & Unwin, 2/6).

Hatfield, C. W. The Complete Poems of Emily Jane Bronte. (Milford, 18/6).

Howell, Wilbur S. The Rhetoric of Alcuin and Charlemagne. (Milford, 21/6).

Huxley, Aldous. Grey Eminence. (Chatto & Windus, 15/-).

James, Father. The Person of Jesus. (Gill, 3/-).

Kissane, Edward J. The Book of Isaiah. (Browne & Nolan, 21/-).

Knight, G. Wilson. Chariot of Wrath. The Message of John Milton to Democracy at War. (Faber & Faber, 10/-).

Lebreton, Jules and Jacques Zeiller. History of the Primitive Church. (Burns Oates, 16/-).

Lewis, C. S. The Screwtape Letters. (Bles, 5/-).

MacLysaght, Edward. Calendar of Orrery Papers. (Stationery Office, 21/-).

McNabb, Vincent. Some Mysteries of Jesus Christ. (Burns Oates, 2/6).

Mansergh, Nicholas. Britain and Ireland. (Longmans, 6d.).

Murphy, Michael. At Slieve Gullion's Foot. Illustrated. (Dundalgan Press, 3/6).

O'Rahilly, Alfred. The Burial of Christ. (Cork University Press, 2/-).

O'Rahilly, Thomas F. The Two Patricks. (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies).

O'Shea, Denis. The Fourteen Stations of the Cross. (Gill, 1/-).

Pavey, Agnes E. Story of the Growth of Nursing. (Faber & Faber, 15/-).

Pender, Seamus. Census of Ireland circa 1659. (Stationery Office, 42/-).

Pick, John. Gerard Manley Hopkins: Priest and Poet. (Oxford Press, 8/6).

Reddaway, W. F. and Others. Cambridge History of Poland 1697-1935. (Cambridge University Press, 30/-).

Roucek, J. S. (Editor). Contemporary Europe. (Chapman & Hall, 25/-).

Sargent, Daniel. All the Day Long. James Anthony Walsh, Co-founder of Maryknoll. (Longmans, 10/6.

Stanislaus, Father. Commentarius Rinuccinianus. Vol. IV. (Stationery Office, 25/-).

Steele, Anthony. Richard II. (Cambridge University Press, 16/-).

Weaver, J. N. This Least Society. Play in Four Acts. (Ranchi: Catholic Press, pp. 78).

Wilmot, Christopher. The Priest's Prayer Book. Handbook to the Breviary. (Burns Oates, 7/6).

Zeller, Hubert von. Jeremias: Man of Tears. (Sands, 6/-).

Analecta Hibernica. No. 10. (Stationery Office, 10/-).

Census of Population 1936, Vol. IX. General Report. (Stationery Office, 3/6).

Polish Science and Learning. No. 1, June, 1942. (Oxford Press, 2/6).

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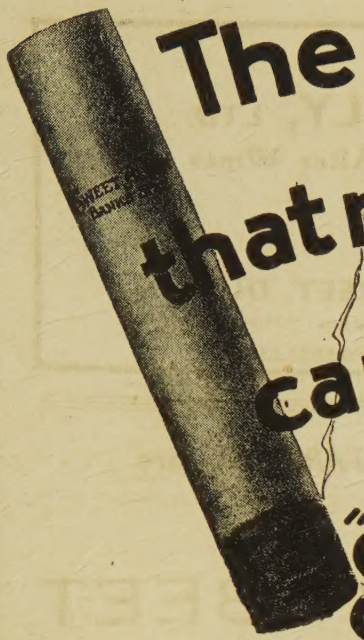

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